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THE

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UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

Article I.

The Man of Principle in Business.

That the business man, whether mechanic, trader, or merchant, is exposed to many temptations, and some of them peculiarly trying, from their very nature, to his integrity, it would be alike unjust and idle to deny. I look upon business of every kind, but especially the pursuits of the merchant and the trader, as a school, a severe discipline of the moral nature, as well as a means of livelihood and accumulation. There is no greater or sterner test of principle, no more certain method of determining the measure of a man's moral power, than to push him forth into the great business world, and there leave him to make his way through it. If there is any good in the man, it will show itself now; if any evil, this will show itself also.

The temptations starting up in the path of this man, and making trial of his moral strength, come in the shape of speculation, often the twin-brother of gambling; the passion for a fortune; the power and social position which wealth gives to its possessor; concealment and deception in purchase and sale; over-trading, and straining of credit, to unjust and dangerous extent; oppression of those employed, by compelling much labor for little

pay; the adoption of a loose code of morals in business, as, for example, "all is fair in trade;" infidelity to contracts; the slighting of work, substituting an inferior work or article in the place of what was agreed upon, because the employing or purchasing party may not be in a situation to detect the cheat; asking and taking more than the market price and the fair value of an article, because the ignorance of the buyer may be security against discovery.

These are some of the temptations to which the man of business is perpetually exposed; and to resist them all successfully and steadily, and at the close of business, or of life, to come forth from the fiery furnace unscathed, without spot or blemish, with unshaken integrity, and a conscience void of offence—this is a great thing. Shallow thinkers and flippant talkers may say that this is no more than what every one ought to do, that all are bound to be honest and just. But how many of us do what we ought to do, or are what we are bound to be. And are these vain talkers themselves without sin? Have they withstood the trial successfully in all points?

But now let us come more directly to the point intended for review — the relation of these temptations to the moral nature, the moral life of the man; and the importance of settled, fixed principles of action, as the only hope and promise of a safe deliverance out of these difficulties.

It is not always easy to decide as to the right. Conscience in many cases seems a ruler and a judge, rather than a guide; and commands only to do right, but does not show us what the right is. There are men, business men, who mean religiously to obey the voice of conscience, who resolve to do no wrong thing; but still often find it difficult to determine how to act in obedience to this resolve, difficult to decide upon the nature and moral relations of a given transaction of trade or labor. A thoughtful man cannot be insensible to the complex difficulties of this sort, which not unfrequently beset the action of the business community; and would not be censorious, nor indulge in mere declamation, but frankly allow, and endeavor to feel, their perplexities.

As an example,—Cicero two thousand years ago pro-

posed the following: A corn merchant of Alexandria arrived at Rhodes, in a time of great scarcity, with a cargo of grain, and with the knowledge that a number of other vessels laden with corn, had already sailed from Alexandria for Rhodes, and which he had passed on the voyage. These would probably arrive on the morrow, or the next day. Now was this merchant morally bound to inform the buyers of this fact? was he obligated to say to the Rhodians, that several cargoes of corn would be in port in a day or two, which would materially reduce the price? Cicero declares that he was, and Cicero was a heathen; but the Christians Grotius, Puffendorf and others, say no.[1]

There is much to be said on both sides of this question, which is only one of a thousand. The superior sailing of the Alexandrine merchant may have been the result of years of study, and labor, and skill in building and fitting his ships. Shall he have no reward for all this? And on the voyage he may have been up day and night, watching the winds, trimming his sails, and laying his course to the best advantage. Shall he derive no profit from his industry, enterprise and exposure? And perhaps through his superior diligence, and the superior build and sailing of his ships, the news of the scarcity at Rhodes was known much sooner, and the supply the the sooner returned, and the suffering sooner ended. Shall he be the only one who has no advantage from this? Perhaps the scarcity at Rhodes might have been prevented by the merchants of that place, had they been as prudent, watchful and energetic as he. Moreover, if he tells of the ships in the offing, they will not buy of him, they will wait till they arrive, and the market falls; and so he loses his voyage, and perhaps by this and similar actions, becomes bankrupt, injures his creditors and beggars his family.

These are certainly considerations worthy of being weighed before a verdict is made up. But then there is something to be said on the other side. All trade or traffic must rest on the basis of truth, honesty, fairness; or it ceases to be trade, and becomes virtual gambling.

[1] Dewey has cited this illustration. Works ii. 173.

The very idea of trade implies a mutual confidence and honesty, and also mutual advantage. If I ask you a certain price for an article you wish to purchase, it is implied, nay, it is universally understood, that I think it is worth the price asked. You have a right to demand of me that I shall not deceive you, that I shall speak and act truth. If I conceal from you any defect in the article, or any knowledge I may possess affecting its price or market value;—or, in other words, if I know certain things or circumstances affecting the value of the article, and conceal these from you that I may extort from you a price which, if you knew them, you would not give, simply because the article is not worth it—then is not this deception? is it not a fraud, a practical lie? And if so, how far can the conventional laws of trade, established by man, modify or change the eternal laws of truth and justice established by God?

Suppose the Alexandrine merchant had found a man of the Rhodians reduced to utmost distress by the famine, but unable to purchase any grain previous to his arrival; suppose the merchant, seeing this man's distress, takes advantage of it, and compels him to give up all his property in exchange for a few bushels of grain to keep himself and family from starving—concealing from him of course the fact that the next day, on the arrival of the other ships, there would be an abundance at a reasonable rate. What should we say of this? Would it be trading, or robbery? Could any conventional mercantile rules, or any risks of traffic, justify this act?

But if it is wrong to go to this extent in using to selfish ends one's superior knowledge, skill or enterprise, to what extent may one go lawfully, morally speaking? How high a price may the merchant or trader justly put upon these? and who is to be the judge, the buyer or the seller? Doubtless the Alexandrine corn-merchant is entitled to some premium for his diligence, watchfulness, and that skill which is the fruit of years of painful toil and study—but how much? And precisely here is the difficulty, respecting which the man of principle finds it often quite impossible to satisfy himself. He is ready to obey the dictates of conscience, if she will speak intelligibly, distinctly. He will do right if she will lay her finger

exactly on the line, to him invisible, where the right ends and the wrong begins. He feels himself entitled to the legitimate fruits of his enterprise and diligence, but he would not ask or accept more. But what *is* legitimate, just, right, morally, not conventionally or legally? This is the question with which he often finds himself puzzled, and put to silence.

But it is precisely in these circumstances that the man of high moral principles, the immovably upright man, shows himself. He has a safe rule for all cases of this sort. Never to do any thing, never to engage in any transaction, respecting the moral character, or the perfect justice of which, he is in doubt. He thinks it better to err by being too strict in his moral code, than by being too loose. If he does it, he may not do right, but if he does it not, he is sure he shall not do wrong. He may lose a good bargain, and great profits; but this is better, he thinks, than to lose his peaceful conscience, his serenity of mind, and in their place get doubts, uncertainty, and perpetual uneasiness lest his gains are unlawful.

When, therefore, any business transaction opens, in its results, two different paths, one leading to what *may* be wrong, and the other to what is certainly *not* wrong—the the one leading to great profits which may be unjust, and the other to smaller profits, not unjust, or even loss—he decides at once which to take. He may hesitate and be in doubt as to whether a certain thing is right; but he never hesitates to refuse doing that respecting the rightness of which the doubt exists. This is his rule, in obedience to which he is always secure of his integrity and conscience. He will be satisfied with himself, whatever it may cost. In all difficulties of this sort, he will keep conscience on his side, even though it costs him the difference between a profit of ten per cent. and one of thirty or fifty per cent.

And it is exactly here we see the difference between the man of principle and the man of no principle. The last never has any difficulty of this sort. He is never perplexed with the moral aspect of a mercantile transaction. Business is business with him. This moral code, as applied to traffic, is that of the old miser to his son—"Get money, get it honestly if you can, but get it,"—or even shorter, omitting the middle clause. The case of

the corn merchant of Alexandria is plain enough to him. So all questions of like sort; they never puzzle him, or get from him a moment's thought. Pigeon expresses; cutting telegraph wires; the buying up of news, and purchases or sales on the strength of this, at a price which he knows to be very far from the real value; cornering stocks; and in true gambling style "plucking" his victims, and beggaring their families; buying houses and lands at tax sales, and wringing from the poor, the widow and fatherless, their hard earned pittance; forcing the sale of property in mortgage or bond, and with a Shylock's hardness demanding the pound of flesh; one per cent., two per cent. a month; concealment and deception in selling; the most labor for the least pay; all these questions, which stagger others, have not the least difficulty for him. His motto is, "all is fair in trade." Get what you want cheap as you can; sell what you have dear as you can; no matter who suffers. That is their lookout and no business of his. It is a fair game, he says, and they may catch *him*, if they can.

To be sure, some declare that all traffic or trade is gambling, a game of loaded dice on the one side or the other, a system of respectable frauds and tricks. It is often said, that an honest man cannot sustain himself, cannot do a living business; that he is compelled to abandon the golden rule of doing as he would be done by, and to descend to the tricks and traps and frauds of trade, or he will fail, be driven off the track by those who will descend to them. But what honest man believes it, for all that? If it were so, one might seriously doubt if this were God's world. And it is painful and mortifying to hear one, himself engaged in business, making speech of this sort, dishonoring his own calling, and not very indirectly accusing himself, and the large class to which he belongs, of dishonesty and knavery. It is not good to speak in this broad manner; for, first, it is not true; and second, if it were true, he is bound, as a protest against the fraud, to abandon it, and with honest sweat and toil to dig his bread from the earth.

But it is not true. All trade is not fraud, nor gambling; and an honest man, the man of principle, can live, and be successful, in a business conducted according to

the severest laws of integrity, truth, and value received. I know such as these, and noble men they are, God's noblemen. And when I see them standing amid the uproar of traffic and worldliness, amid the ceaseless din of the street and the wareroom, and the keen encounter of buying and selling—standing there with serene countenance, with clean hands and a pure conscience, with garments unsoiled and not even the *dust* of trade upon their sandals—it seems to me that this whole broad earth has no fairer sight. And when I consider the manifold temptations with which they are daily beset, and the infirmities of human nature; the loose morality which prevails in regard to this subject, and the powerful influence of corrupt example in high places, I feel for these men not only the warmest admiration, but a sort of involuntary reverence. I honor them, first and foremost of all; for they honor, make honorable, and give dignity to, the name not only of the Merchant, but also of the Man and the Christian! They are the fixed stars, the suns in the commercial, moral and social systems, around which your mean men, your men of cunning, of tricks, and sharp trading, so called, revolve, in orbits eccentric enough, but still in a way to illustrate the power and influence of the strictly just and righteous man.

Yes; one just man, one man of unbending moral principle, is mightier than all the hosts of dishonest and fraudulent knaves; and in his majestic presence they feel their littleness, and weakness, and shame, and are ready to slink away lest they blush beneath the gaze of his calm clear eye. It is a noble sight, worth going far to look at, the man who stands erect and serene, with his heel upon the red dragon of temptation, its seven heads and ten horns crushed and trodden down into the dust! In all the world there is no sight so lovely, so grand as this. He is nobler than any coronet can make him. He is richer than gold or precious stones can make him. He is mightier than kings, and one of the greatest of conquerors, for all men rejoice in his victories. Even those who have not courage to follow him in his conflicts, are glad to see him come forth from the life-battle-field unscarred, and silently, in their hearts, they bless him.

Look at him in the daily turmoil of business, with shift-

ing waves of buying and selling, building, stocks, mortgages, loans and interest, profit and loss, tempting bargains, promising speculations, fortunes made at a single throw of the dice—look at him as he stands there amid the ebb and flow, the rush and roar, firm as a rock in the stormy sea. The waters gather upon him, and howl around him, but he cannot be shaken. His foundation is below the waters, reaching down into the very roots of the earth. He cannot be moved from the eternal rectitude of his soul. He cannot be swept from the unalterable moral principles on which the massy and symmetrical structure of his character rests, as on the centre of the solid globe. No temptations are strong enough to overthrow him, or to make him waver for a moment. Conscience is supreme with him. Her slightest touch is responded to quick as thought. He never debates for an instant of time whether it is not best to do a little wrong for the sake of a great gain. His cheek would redden with shame, he would feel degraded, if the thought of such a thing got lodgement in his heart so long as it went from one beat to the next. He does right, as if it were a kind of instinct with him. He sees what is true, and speaks it. He sees what is just, and does it. His counting-room is the sanctuary of justice; and her altar is never naked nor cold. His account-books are a beautiful daily paraphrase of the laws of honorable trade and mercantile integrity. They are a kind of ten commandments, a book of proverbs, a business-bible, which your cunning, sharp, all-is-fair-in-trade men would do well to read a lesson out of every day, and then go away and pray in secret.

He listens as reverently to the voice of justice when she speaks for another, as when she speaks for him. He can see the rights of another as clearly as his own; and he would sooner cut off his right hand than wrong another man. You might put a hundred fortunes in the scale against his conscience, and they would be lighter than so many feathers. He would not sell his truth and honor to gain the whole world.

Who buys of him, gets what he bargains for. His goods are better than his samples. Who sells him is sure of his pay. His word is better than your shrewd man's bond or note. His clerks and laborers get a fair compen-

sation for their work; and get it when it is due, without asking. The baker, the grocer, the tailor, all who deal with him, are straight up and down. They have but one price. They know him, and know that the first approach to higgling would be the signal for non-intercourse.

He stands on change, under the great dome, undisturbed by the ceaseless hum, and roar, and reverberation. He walks through State Street, and Wall Street, without being infected by its atmosphere. Even the bellowing bulls and bears, and other wild beasts, that meet him seem awed in his presence, and get done with their discordant howlings. They unconsciously acknowledge the majesty and supremacy of a Man! and he stands in their midst unharmed, like Daniel in the lion's den. God protects the righteous man, and as of old sends his angels to stop the mouths of the devouring beasts—that angel is his divine, spotless, incorruptible integrity! his inflexible, unbending moral principle! This is ever his guardian angel, and delivers him from all the perils of riches and traffic, of the city and the wilderness. Other men who have no such angel, confess she is beautiful when they see her, and acknowledge the power of her presence. All men, even the worst, feel the dignity, and confess the majesty and the power of virtue.

Such is the "Man of Principle in Business." Such his position, character, and influence. It would be a work of supererogation after this description, to enter into an exhortation respecting the importance of following him as a guide; or, in other words, the importance of maintaining the most sacred allegiance to truth, honor, moral principle; and heeding the first promptings of conscience. As said, sometimes she does not speak clearly; yet if she speak at all there is danger. As a man thinketh so he is. Even though all things be pure, as Paul says, yet it is evil to that man who eateth with offence, and he that doubteth is damned if he eat. Better not go within an hundred steps as far as one might lawfully go, than go one step farther. Better to err on the right side than on the wrong.

What is right clearly, do it, though the heavens fall. What is wrong clearly, do it not, though you could thereby grasp the wealth of a Crœsus. In the presence of

evil, or the shadow of it, never hesitate for a breath—on the instant speak to it—"Get thee behind me Satan." Then thou shalt be at peace with thyself. All men shall honor thee, and God and his angels shall bless thee and keep thee always. T. B. T.

Art. II.

Indications of Providence in the Establishment of Christianity.

The philosophical mind has not failed to notice, in the tendency of those political events that immediately preceded the advent of Christianity, or in the condition of the civilized world at that period, very significant signs of *preparation* for the reign of that religion which Jesus Christ was to establish. In the new order of things, which it was his mission to initiate, we find the explanation of a course of events and of a posture of affairs, which, considered apart from their ultimate uses, must have appeared inexplicable. It is by the revelation of God's designs in the slowly unfolding results of ages, that he justifies his ways to man, interprets the anomalies of human experience, and makes history luminous to the wise. We propose to consider a few indications of his directing providence, as seen in the introduction and establishment of Christianity.

For many years, the steady progress of Roman conquest had been obliterating the distinction of nations, appeasing the jealousy of hostile peoples by granting a similarity of social position and political privilege, and blending the apparently incongruous tribes in the equality of a vast commonwealth. With an insatiable ambition and an iron will, the genius of Rome had led her victorious armies through the most distant provinces, and brought back the spoils of nations to her capital; yet, after the heat of conquest had subsided with the exultation of victory, in the exercise of a tolerant and comprehensive policy, she embraced all the conquered within her im-

perial jurisdiction, and extended to them the common rights of Roman subjects; so that, in the words of a popular historian, "the kingdoms, which were won by the most unjustifiable aggression, were, for the most part, governed with a judicious union of firmness and conciliation, in which the conscious strength of irresistible power was tempered with the wisest respect to national usages."[1] Thus, in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, the world was presented with the unexampled spectacle of an empire extending "from the Euphrates to the Atlantic; from the shores of Britain, and the borders of the German forests, to the sands of the African desert," and consolidating a large part of the human family within a uniform social system, united by similar laws and commercial facilites, and by the general predominance of the Greek and Latin languages.[2]

No sooner was this mighty political fabric completed, than a religion appeared, worthy to be enthroned in it as its living soul. As the Roman empire transcended all former political confederations, and moulded into a uniform social condition the hostile and local diversities of the nations it conquered,—so Christianity, transcending all former religions, was prepared to unite the various peoples, thus made accessible to her teachings, into a uniform and everlasting spiritual commonwealth. This adaptation of the world to the advent of Christianity could not have been accidental. So perfect an adjustment of ample means to a great and lofty end, indicates divine forecast and an intelligible plan. Political Rome, fulfilling its ultimate mission in the reception and diffusion of the gospel, reveals a divine purpose in its gradual ascendency, and justifies its monopoly of the power, learning, and wealth of the world. Without the work which it accomplished in removing the barriers that had divided tribes and nations, it seems impossible that the new religion could have diffused itself, to any considerable extent, except by perpetual miracles—and miracles, too, of an order most violent and unprecedented. It is easy to estimate the difficulties it must have encountered, at an earlier period and under different outward circumstances, with all the petty tribes and powerful nations in a mutually

[1] Milman. [2] Ibid.

hostile attitnde,—both towards the new faith and towards each other,—irritated by local prejudices, estranged by opposing interests, and made irreconcilable by conflicting customs, laws and languages. In the slow, but momentous, processes of time, these obstacles were removed, so far as was accordant with divine pleasure; human ambition and the lust of power became God's instrumentalities for fusing together the divided race; and the dominion that was won by violence became the highway of the Prince of Peace.

Such is the evidence of providential preparation for Christianity, which we find in the outward, or political, state of the world. Equally impressive is the evidence afforded by the internal, or spiritual, state of mankind at the same period.

While the local governments were losing their independence by the aggressions of the imperial power, the local religions were gradually losing their authority by the growth of the human mind. The time had been, when these had exerted an unquestioned sway over all classes in the nation, and when the mandate of the priest was more potent than the will of the king. But these provincial religions were limited, in their adaptation, to the tribes from which they severally sprang, and to a condition of prevalent barbarism. Each was prevented from propagating itself abroad by some local peculiarity, and denied the privilege of perpetuity by the poverty of its resources and the crudeness of its teachings. None could minister but to a narrow mental developement, and to a superficial moral experience. Hence, as mankind advanced in intelligence, and as they learned to analyze more critically their spiritual functions and necessities, and to calculate their probable relations to the universe, the inadequacy of their religions became more manifest, and their pretensions more ridiculous. In the age of Augustus, not one of the nominal faiths whose authority had been established in the heathen world, enjoyed the confidence of the learned, as an authentic interpreter of the mystery of life; and the chief motive of the philosophers, in tolerating these effete religions, seems to have been the supposed need of them as a restraint on the lawlessness of the ignorant masses. "Historians must be pardoned,"

says Polybius, "if, for the sake of maintaining piety among the many, they occasionally introduce miraculous or fabulous tales." It was the opinion of this writer, that religion would, perhaps, be unnecessary in a commonwealth of wise men. "But," he adds, "since the multitude is ever fickle, full of lawless desires, irrational passions, and violence, it is right to restrain it by the fear of the invisible world and such tragic terrors. Whence our ancestors appear to have introduced notions concerning the gods, and opinions about the infernal regions, not rashly or without consideration. Those rather act rashly and inconsiderately who would expel them."[3] "It is impossible," remarks Strabo, "to govern a mob of women, or the whole mixed multitude, by philosophic reasoning, and to exhort them to piety, holiness, and faith; we must also employ superstition, with its fables and prodigies. For the thunder, the ægis, the trident, the torches, the serpents, the thyrsi of the gods, are fables, as is all the ancient theology; but the legislature introduced these things as bugbears to those who are children in understanding."[4] To such dishonor and weakness had the popular faith become reduced, and to such base uses were they applied, throughout the realm of Polytheism.

Nor was Judaism, though founded by divine authority, an exception to the practical impotency of the religious systems. Judaism, in the exclusive form which it had assumed, had exhausted its legitimate influence, and finished its appointed work. It is true that its wonderful vigor still manifested itself in the proselytes that were made by Jewish teachers, and in the Jewish colonies; but it had become corrupted by an infusion of heathen tradition and oriental philosophy, and could no longer be identified with the faith of the prophets. Since the fall of Solomon's temple, no symbolic presence of the Deity had shone in the sanctuary,[5] in assurance of divine protection; and more than four hundred years had elapsed since the prophetic line was closed by Malachi, with vivid predictions of an approaching dispensation which was to supercede the perverted faith of Judea.[6] There was this distinction,

[3] Polyb. vi. 56.

[4] Strabo, lib. i. p. 19. See also the mass of evidence quoted in the histories of Milman and Neander.

[5] Milman's History of the Jews, ii. 11. [6] Mal. iii. iv.

however, between the aspect of Judaism and that of the polytheistic religions: that, while the latter were essentially false, and required to be uprooted, the former preserved the fundamental truth of things in its doctrine of divine unity, and typified, in the unlimited significance of its symbols, all the elements of a comprehensive and absolute religion. But, since it remained unconscious of those latent elements, and gave no evidence of a self-expanding power, it is evident that Judaism, like the heathen faiths that were expiring around it, had no claim on the confidence and sympathy of mankind.

Thus was the world, by the expansion of its intelligence and the refinement of its experience, borne beyond the sphere of the old religions. At the point of culture to which it had now advanced, it found no faith capable of securing its allegiance. In the expressive words of the Christian historian, "The world, peacefully united under one temporal monarchy, might be compared to a vast body without a soul: the throne of the human mind appeared vacant; among the rival competitors for its dominion, none advanced more than claims local, or limited to a certain class." In this remarkable destitution of mankind, as regards any authoritative religion, we see God's *spiritual preparation* for the advent of Christianity; which came with a breadth of purpose that embraced all nations, and with an affluence of resources adequate to all the emergencies and capacities of man. So obvious a fitness of the time to the event, of the human want to the divine response, has led a certain class of speculative minds to suppose that Christianity is the spontaneous production of the age in which it appeared; in other words, that it was *developed* by the peculiar circumstances, desires, expectations, facilities of the time. While we reject this theory as utterly void of probability, and as hostile alike to the facts of history and the analogies of experience,[7] we may adduce it as indicating the power with which this providential preparation has impressed the minds of reflective men.

[7] I cannot avoid transcribing, in this place, Milman's eloquent protest against the developement theory: "Christ is as much beyond his own age, as his own age is beyond the darkest barbarism. The time, though fitted to receive, could not, by any combination of prevalent opinions,

If we turn our attention now from the circumstances that prepared the way for Christianity, to the *instrumentalities* by which it was founded and promulgated, we shall find further indications of providential arrangement.

In the Author of the new religion, we behold a character essentially different from any type of greatness which the world had hitherto recognized, or shown any capability to create. It was not such a character as human wisdom would have chosen to propagate a new faith, and vanquish the strong powers of custom, prejudice, and passion. There was no affinity between it and the master desires of man's heart, or the predominant ambitions of the age. There was nothing in Jesus of Nazareth to conciliate the favor of the world, except, indeed, through its repentance and spiritual renovation; for between them was the strongest moral antagonism, as the persecutions and martyrdoms of the primitive Church abundantly witness. The traditionary expectation of the Messiah does not correspond with the actual character of Christ. He was to come in the splendor of royalty, and in the strength of political conquest. With the sceptre of David, he was to break the chain of the Roman, and punish the insolence

or by any conceivable course of moral improvement, have *produced* Christianity. The conception of the human character of Jesus, and the simple principles of the new religion, as they were in direct opposition to the predominant opinions and temper of his own countrymen, so they stand completely alone in the history of our race; and, as imaginary no less than as real, altogether transcend the powers of man's moral conception. Supposing the gospels purely fictitious, or that, like the 'Cyropædia' of Xenophon, they embody on a groundwork of fact the highest moral and religious notions to which man had attained, and show the utmost ideal perfection of the divine and human nature, they can be accounted for, according to my judgement, on none of the ordinary principles of human nature. When we behold Christ standing in the midst of the wreck of old religious institutions, and building, or, rather, at one word commanding to arise, the simple and harmonious structure of the new faith, which seems equally adapted for all ages,—a temple to which nations in the highest degree of civilization may bring their offerings of pure hearts, virtuous dispositions, universal charity,—our natural emotion is the recognition of the divine goodness, in the promulgation of this benificent code of religion, and adoration of that Being in whom that divine goodness is thus embodied and made comprehensible to the faculties of man."

See, also, his examination of the work of Dr. Strauss, in the appendix to chap. ii. History of Christianity. A more thorough refutation of Strauss is furnished in Neander's history.

of the Gentile. In his person, the glory of the Hebrew theocracy was to revive, and in his reign, the supremacy of Judaism be vindicated before the subjugated world. The actual life and career of Christ exhibit at once the most unequivocal hostility to the temper of his time, and the most palpable disregard of popular expectations. No voluntary speculator in the world's credulity, no merely human adventurer on the highway of ambition, would have shown such temerity. The fact is an indication that the divine spirit was shed upon him without measure, and that the divine wisdom determined his course.

In the humble station to which our Lord confined himself, and in the obscurity of his associates and co-laborers, we now perceive a fitness and a wisdom above the discretion of man. The reformer who came from Nazareth and sought companions from Galilean peasants, might spread his doctrines with an impunity denied to a Pharisee, moving in a more conspicuous walk of life. The contempt of the religious aristocracy became his temporary security; and after him, it shielded his disciples, until the doctrines they taught had become rooted in the human heart. This has been God's uniform method, as we see in the history of subsequent reforms. He selects his ministers from humble men, whose sole recommendations are the grace he imparts to them and the blessings that spring from their labors; and they diffuse their unquenchable spirit among men, and secure their victory over the world, before their social superiors condescend to recognize their existence. Moreover, had the first appearance of the new faith been more imposing, had its Founder been associated with the dominant class, and his disciples chosen from the learned and the powerful, its whole destiny must have been changed, and its great design subverted. Christianity must then have become merely the religion of a caste, more restrictive even than Judaism, and could not, in the nature of things, have won the sympathies, and enlisted the devotion, of the despised multitude. Those lessons of self-renunciation, of enduring humility, of patient suffering, of unostentatious courage, and of faith victorious over all the ills of time, that now appeal so successfully to the common heart of man, and live in the literature of Christendom, perennially fresh and

fair, must have been forever wanting; a treasure, the worth of which we cannot presume to estimate. A religion that hopes to embrace all classes and minister to the most abject moral destitution, must begin with the lowest stratum of society, infusing its spirit and grounding its ideas in unsophisticated hearts, where the primal rectitude of our nature has not been corrupted by the sophistries of policy, or paralyzed by the enchantments of ambition; but where the soul is free to obey its intuitions, and has not the god of this world to dethrone before it can serve the God of heaven. A great truth, planted at the base of society, will work its way to the summit, permeating the whole mass with its essence, but I believe there is no instance in history where the reverse of this method has occurred.

In addition to the foregoing considerations, it is worthy of remark that the humble rank of the Author and early apostles of Christianity, made it impossible that their success could be attributed to their personal qualities, or to the influence that *naturally* belonged to their station. Independently of what we term their miraculous works, there was a *power* in their ministry not the result of their natural endowments, but communiated by God, in an extraordinary manner, and for a special purpose. The spontaneous conviction of those who watched their course with an unprejudiced eye, was, that God must be with them, in a peculiar sense, giving efficacy to their efforts by His own resistless sanction. It was the exhibition of a divine energy in those men, (otherwise so feeble in their own persons and so contemptible in public estimation,) that compelled the reluctant world to acknowledge their authority. It was easier to believe them the divinely-endowed ministers of Heaven, than to believe that results so astonishing could be wrought by their unassisted efforts.[8]

But let us turn from the *persons* by whom Christianity was first taught, to the *vehicle* by which its wonderful manifestations were conveyed to the knowledge of subse-

[8] In the popular essay, entitled "Reason and Faith," by Henry Rogers, there is an impressive statement of the *paradoxes* one is compelled to believe, who rejects the divine authority of the early Christian teachers.

quent generations. When we examine those books in which are recorded the words and deeds of the first Christian teachers, we find them enriched by the most varied contents. Besides doctrinal statements addressed to the reason, moral suggestions that appeal to the conscience, and benignant assurances that kindle the affections, there are certain exhibitions of mingled power and love, termed *miraculous*, that properly entrench themselves in the imagination. It is the habit of many thinkers at the present day, to reject these supernatural exhibitions—these "revelations of the Deity addressed to the senses of man"—as being contrary to their experience, and, therefore, unworthy of their belief. Now, without entering into any formal defence of miracles, we simply suggest the fact, that this supernatural element in the gospel histories, however repugnant to our "fastidious intelligence," is that which influenced, more than any thing else perhaps, the more imaginative mind of Christendom, during seventeen centuries. In view of this consideration, the miraculous part of these narratives must be viewed as a prearrangement of Divine Wisdom for a temporary condition of the world.

The importance of the fact here introduced, will justify some elaboration:—"It was by this very supernatural agency, if I may so speak," says Milman, "that the doctrines, the sentiments, the moral and religious influence of Christianity, were implanted in the mind on the first promulgation of the gospel; and the reverential feeling thus excited, most powerfully contributed to maintain the efficacy of the religion. That which is now to many incredible, not merely commanded the belief, but made the purely moral and spiritual part of Christianity credible. . . . . These passages, in general, are not the vital and essential truths of Christianity, but the vehicle by which those truths were communicated; a kind of language by which opinions were conveyed, and sentiments infused, and the general belief in Christianity implanted, confirmed, and strengthened. As we cannot but suppose that the state of the world, as well during, as subsequent to, the introduction of Christianity—the comparative re-barbarization of the human race—the long centuries in which mankind was governed by imagination rather than by severe rea-

son—were within the design, or, at least, the foreknowledge, of all-seeing Providence; so, from the fact that this mode of communication with mankind was, for so long a period, so effective, we may not unreasonably infer its original adoption by Divine Wisdom. This language of poetic incident, and, if I may so speak, of imagery, interwoven as it was with the popular belief, infused into the hymns, the services, the ceremonial of the Church; embodied in material representation by painting or sculpture —was the vernacular tongue of Christianity, universally intelligible, and responded to by the human heart, throughout these many centuries. Revelation thus spoke the language, not merely of its own, but of succeeding times; because its design was the perpetuation, as well as the first propagation, of the Christian religion. . . . . Poetry—meaning by poetry such an imaginative form, and not merely the form, but the subject-matter, of the narrative, as, for instance, in the first chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke—was the appropriate, and perhaps necessary, intelligible dialect,—the vehicle for the more important truths of the gospel to later generations. The incidents, therefore, were so ordered, that they should thus live in the thoughts of men; the revelation itself was so adjusted and arranged, in order that it might insure its continued existence throughout this period. Could, it may be inquired, a purely rational or metaphysical creed have survived, for any length of time, during such stages of human civilization?"[9]

Endorsing these views, we also add, that, as the supernatural element in the gospel records rendered such essential service to the European nations, during the long epochs of comparative barbarism, there must be equal necessity that it should minister to like conditions of humanity, in the future extension of the Christian kingdom. Equally potent in their influence upon rude or poetical minds, must be those miraculous exhibitions, wherever the gospel is preached throughout all coming time. Logical minds, submitting to the cold sway of reason, may affect to dispense with such an agency; but to the masses of mankind, in whom the imagination is the more active

[9] No. iii. Appendix to Chap. ii. Hist. Christianity.

faculty, it will ever be found an indispensable spiritual aid. We doubt whether any refinement of human culture can entirely supersede the necessity of such an influence.

It is the perfection of the gospel records, that they contain something to excite the interest, and form the faith, of every style of mind and of every order of intelligence. They are addressed to no special class, or age, and hence they have no rigid uniformity of expression. They speak to the soul and to the senses, to the reason and to the imagination; now they appeal to experience, and then they soar immeasurably beyond it. Like the phenomena of Nature, whose inexhaustible variety excites the admiration of man in all lands and in all times, and tends to develop in him some appropriate quality of character, these histories afford an infinite diversity of doctrines, suggestions, allusions, images, that adapt them to the corresponding diversity everywhere seen in the structure of the human mind. It is to be expected that different minds will estimate variously the relative value of the contents of these books. That which most effectually moves any individual believer, will naturally assume the highest place in his esteem. He is not to be censured for his preference, but let him beware of the bigotry that would prompt him to deny the worth of other agencies, because they may not be fitted to his particular case. The very means which his narrow philosophy fails to appreciate, may commend itself to the experience of millions of his brethren, as the chief instrumentality of their Christian faith and life. We cannot, therefore, afford to dispense with any of the agencies provided in the records of our religion. Each has demonstrated its efficiency, in the great work of extending divine authority over human existence, and promoting the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ. That these agencies are so numerous and so diversified, is another indication to our mind, that God ordained their collection and preservation in our sacred books. In their amplitude of suggestions and range of instruction, they correspond to that bountiful diversity of means with which God has enriched both the material and spiritual worlds. In their fitness to all the varieties of human culture and experience, they associate them-

selves with that vast system of *adaptation*, by which God harmonizes the universe and proves His eternal wisdom.

We have thus viewed some of the indications of Providence which appear in the circumstances attending the *establishment* of Christianity. Perhaps, at some future period, we may continue the theme which is here suspended, and notice some of the prominent tokens of divine superintendence disclosed in the subsequent *history* of our religion. E. W. R.

Art. III.

Religious Aspects of the Eastern Question.

The Eastern Question is attracting a large share of public attention and private sympathy throughout the civilized world. In this country the arrival of each European mail is watched with intense anxiety, and every body asks for the latest news from the seat of war. So closely linked together are all nations in their commercial, political, social, and religious affinities and antipathies, that a slight shock at one extremity vibrates through every nerve, and a serious disorder in one part deranges the whole system. Whatever may be our wishes or our fears, all must admit that great and vital changes must ensue, for good or ill, to mankind, and on a scale of magnificence rarely witnessed by any generation. But there are so many elements involved, so many conflicting interests at stake, so many and such strong impelling forces enlisted, that no one can foresee the issues, or begin to calculate, with any certainty, the final results upon the commercial and religious interests of Christendom. *Our faith*, of course, admits that no permanent evil can ensue, for the world never goes backwards. Barbarism can not succeed amid the light that now shines through the Press and the Pulpit, however successful it may, at times, seem to be in some parts of earth. Nor is right so certain of a speedy

triumph, seeing it has to contend with errors become chronic in religion and politics, and prevailing extensively among friends and foes. Still, a conflict so warmly waged, and so extensively ramified, must end finally in results favorable to the advancement of a more thorough civilization—more social and religious freedom, and more and better charity among men.

This is not merely a question of to-day about words, a squabble after thrones, a strife for national existence or aggrandizement, or an outburst of passion seeking revenge. Such royal playthings may form a part of the programme —the most important part to some of the actors in it; but the world at large views it from another stand-point. *Religion* is mixed up in it and forms an essential element, and gives a decided coloring to the whole affair. But it is not one religion at war with another,—Christianity against Islamism, Catholicism against Protestantism. One Christian nation has made friends with an ancient and powerful rival, whose form of religion it disowns, and both are gone in company to strike hands with the bitter and long successful enemy of all Christianity, to help sustain it against the formidable attacks of a power fighting in the name and for the sake of what it claims to be the earliest and most orthodox form of Christian faith. And thus is revived, in all its intensity, the old feud of twelve centuries between the Greek and Latin churches. They are the real and original combatants in this fearful struggle, which now threatens the peace of the world. Lateral questions and ulterior objects are involved, unquestionably; but these, however prominent in some minds, are secondary to the unsettled question of pre-eminence, so long and so resolutely pursued by these rival churches into which Christianity was divided in the seventh century. England and Turkey, and the Protestant principalities of Germany, can not be directly party to the religious pretensions of Catholic France, which fomented the present difficulties, or to the darling aspirations of Russia, which is of the Greek faith. They must be influenced by other, by ulterior motives. England does not want the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean; but she does want Egypt for a colony to grow her cotton and her sugar and afford a more direct highway to her East India

possessions; and she is resolved to weld this link in the chain of her colonies which will complete the circle of her dominion around the globe. And she will have it before the blood and treasure of this war are all paid for. She held back from the conflict and parleyed with Russia while her fleet was in Besica Bay. But Russia demanded the lion's share—would have Istamboul for a southern capital, possess herself of what Napoleon called "the gate of nations;" to which England very naturally objected, and joined with Catholic France in a treaty offensive and defensive against Nicholas, the avowed patron and protector of the Greek Church.

Prussia and the German States can have no immediate interest in this question. They are shut out from the fears and dangers of Russian aggrandizement in the Mediterranean, except so far as the possessions of the Bosphorus would enable that country to subjugate all Europe to her already vast dominion. In religion they can have no more sympathy with one sect than with the other. They are free, with few exceptions, from the domination of both. It is, therefore, with them a choice of evils. As the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire would be a check to ecclesiastical and political ambition, one would naturally infer that they would side with the Western Powers, or remain neutral. The last they will undoubtedly do as long as they can, from selfish motives as well as from political and religious considerations. The King of Prussia, however, from family affinities, must have a penchant towards the success and honor of his magnificent brother-in-law. But royal relations do not always hold fast their personal regards against national interest. The people of Prussia can feel no desire to engage with Russia to help extend the borders of her dominions, already too great for the safety of smaller nations. In religion, in politics, in social condition, in every thing but their monarchy, their tendencies are with the west of Europe.

Austria is in a doubtful and difficult position, far from enviable in any point of view. In her political tendencies she is with Russia, a military despotism to all intents and purposes. In her weakness—and she is inherently and essentially weak—her only assurance of permanent aid is

from the quarter where she sought and found it in her recent necessity. Politically she has no claim upon the west of Europe, least of all upon the ruling power of France, whose royalty she formerly disowned and destroyed. But in religion the unity is complete, for Austria is Catholic from top to bottom. She gave an asylum to Jesuitism when banished from the west of Europe; even, in pretence, from the Papal States. Her whole course has been jesuitical, sly, crafty, treacherous, domineering, cruel. It is so still. Nobody understands her policy; and having no moral principle, she can not have any one policy long enough to become known. At present it is doubtful if she knows what to do. To go with Russia she dare not, for then Catholicism would rebel, and Louis Napoleon, its self-constituted godfather, would at once proclaim the freedom of her Italian provinces, and all the priests of that church would bless him for it. However much she wishes to join the West, she does it reluctantly; for she fears Nicholas would denounce the base ingratitude and sweep over Poland and Hungary, and, not long after, Moravia and Bohemia, if not all Germany. Placed between the fire and the bramble, the Northern Bear growling behind and the Church frowning before, poor Austria is in a quandary, patiently as she can awaiting some chance to extricate herself from her dilemma. Threatened and perplexed as she is, if her advisers had possessed a spark of moral principle and manliness, or foresight enough to pretend it, she might ere this, in all human probability, have turned the scales and terminated the vexed question which has already cost so many wars. But her course has been so long dishonest and vacillating, that she is involved in a bewilderment which has confused her perception and produced a state of imbecility bordering upon self-destruction. Her geographical position would enable her at once to aid or defend Russia or Turkey in a way to make short work of the pending contest. She is reaping, and *will reap*, the due recompense of former dishonesty and present intrigues, let her do in the future what she may.

Russia has a double object, the aggrandizement of her empire and the glory of the Greek Church. The latter is undoubtedly subsidiary to the former. The one great

and all-controlling thought of the Czar is the advancement of Pan-Slavism, and, if possible, the universal supremacy of the Muscovite power. Partaking deeply of the spirit of this age (if not of all ages), he makes his religion bend pliantly to the promotion of his own temporal interests. He sustains the church, that the church may sustain him in return.

Christianity was introduced into Russia by a royal ukase issued by Vladimir the Great about nine centuries ago. The manner of its introduction is so curious, and the intentions of its royal patron so much like the conduct of all subsequent sovereigns, that we deem the following account worthy a place in these pages:

"Vladimir resolved to return thanks to the gods for the success they had granted to his arms, by offering them a sacrifice of the prisoners of war. His courtiers, more cruel in their piety than even their prince, persuaded him that a victim selected from his own people would more worthily testify his gratitude for these signal dispensations of Heaven. The choice fell on a young Varagion, the son of a Christian, and brought up in that faith. The unhappy father refused the victim; the people enraged, as thinking their prince and their religion thus insulted at once, assailed the house; and, having beat in the doors, furiously murdered both father and son, enfolded in mutual embraces.

Thus it was that Vladimir thought to honor the gods. The zealous Olga had never been able to induce her son to embrace Christianity, and her grandson Vladimir was of all the Russian princes the most bigoted to idolatry. He augmented the number of the idols of Kief; he commissioned Dobryna, his uncle by the mother's side, to raise a superb statue at Novogorod to the deity Perune; his offerings enriched both the temples and the priests of his gods, while his zeal inflamed that of the nation. But the grandeur of the Russian monarch was already so conspicuous as to strike the eyes of the neighboring princes. All of them courted the friendship of Vladimir, and dreaded his arms: each was in hopes of fixing his attachment by the ties of one common religion. Accordingly he received, at almost the same time, deputies from the Pope, or rather from some Catholic prince who wished to attract him to the Church of Rome; persons from Bulgaria, exhorting him to embrace the doctrines of Mohammed; and it is even said that some Jews, established among the Kozares, came to expound to him the law of Moses. But none of these deputies had any success. A mission more fortunate was that of a Greek, whom the chronicles call a philosopher, and yet perhaps he was not one. If he did not induce Vladimir to

embrace the Greek ritual, at least he succeeded in making him think favorably of it, and he returned to his country loaded with presents.

The discourse of the Greek had made a lively impression on the mind of the prince; and, desirous of gaining farther information concerning the various systems of faith of which the missionary had spoken while recommending his own, he dispatched ten persons, in high reputation for wisdom, to observe in the countries where each was professed, the principles and the rites of these different religions.

These men repaired first to the Bulgarians, eastward of Russia, but they were not sensibly struck with the devotion of the Manichees, or the Mohammedan worship; thence they proceeded to Germany, coldly considered the ceremonies as performed by some vulgar priests in tawdry trappings in the poor Latin churches there, and could take no interest in a sect which showed so little magnificence, with its motley round of unmeaning gesticulations, in its offices of worship. But when these barbarian sages were arrived at Constantinople, where they saw the imposing splendor of religious adoration, amid the gorgeous decorations in the proud basilicum of St. Sophia, they felt immediately touched by celestial grace, and confessed that the people whose religion displayed such pomp must have the sole possession of the true belief.

Their imagination still heated with the pompous spectacle of which they had been the astonished beholders, they returned to Vladimir, speaking with scorn of the Latin ceremonial, and describing with enthusiasm what they had seen in the imperial city. They thought themselves, they said, transported to the skies, and requested permission to return to Constantinople to receive the initiatory sacrament into so magnificent a religion.

The grandeur of their recital made an impression on Vladimir. The boyars of his council, who easily saw what was passing in his mind, exclaimed, that the Greek religion must unquestionably be the true one, since the wise deputies had extolled it so much; and that, if it had not been best, so prudent a princess as Olga would never have embraced it.

These arguments determined Vladimir to be baptized. But unfortunately he had no Greek priest at hand. To ask them of the emperor would be a sort of homage, at the very idea of which his haughty soul revolted. He conceived a project worthy of his times, of his country, or perhaps of himself: it was to commence a war against Greece, and by force of arms to extort instruction, priests, and the rite of baptism. No sooner had he formed the design than he prepared for its execution, raised a formidable army, selected from all the nations of which his empire was composed, and repaired to the Chersonese, under the walls of Theodosia, now called Kaffa. If we give credit to the chronicle, he put up this prayer: 'O God, grant

me thy help to take this town, that I may carry from it Christians and priests to instruct me and my people, and convey the true religion into my dominions!' He laid siege to the city, destroyed the adversaries, lost a great number of soldiers, and thousands of men were destroyed, because a barbarian would not suffer himself to be christened like an ordinary person.

However, after carrying on the siege for six months, Vladimir had made no progress; he was even threatened with being obliged to raise the siege, and was in great danger of never becoming a Christian. But a traitorous citizen—according to some it was a priest—tied a letter to an arrow, and shot it from the top of the ramparts. The Russians learnt by this paper, that behind their camp was a spring, which by subterraneous pipes was the sole supply of fresh water to the besieged. Vladimir ordered this source to be sought out: it was found; and, by breaking these channels, subjected the town to the horrors of thirst, and forced it to surrender. Being in possession of Theodosia, he was master of the whole Chersonese. In consequence of this victory, it was in his own choice to receive baptism in the manner he desired. But this sacrament was not the sole object of his ambition: he aspired to an union by the ties of blood with the Cæsars of Byzantium. As was the case with most of the princes who adopted Christianity, so here political reasons had at least an equal influence with devotion; and when Vladimir was baptized at Korsun, a town of Greece, in 988, and married Anna the sister of the Grecian sovereign, it was as much his intention by this match to acquire a claim to the Grecian empire, as by his baptism to have pretensions on the kingdom of heaven! . . . . Vladimir then listened to nine catechetical lectures, received the rite of baptism and the name of Basil, married the princess Anna, restored to his brother-in-law the conquests he had recently made, and brought off no other reward of his victories than some archimandrites and papes, sacred vessels and church-books, images of saints and consecrated relics. At his return to Kief his mind was wholly intent on overthrowing the idols which but lately were the object of his adoration. As Perune was the greatest of deities to the idolatrous Russians, it was he that Vladimir, after his conversion, resolved to treat with the greatest ignominy. He had him tied to the tail of a horse, dragged to the Borysthenes, and all the way twelve vigorous soldiers, with great cudgels, beat the deified log, which was afterwards thrown into the river. Nothing can more strongly mark the character of Vladimir than this conduct, alike brutish in worshipping a misshapen block, and in thinking to punish the insensible mass for the adorations he had lavished upon it. . . . .

People in a low state of civilization have too few ideas for acquiring a strong attachment to one religion. Thus the Russians easily abandoned the worship of idols: for, though Vladimir caused it to

be published that those who should persevere in idolatry should be regarded as enemies of Christ and of the prince, it does not appear that Russia underwent any persecutions, and yet it soon became Christian; of such force was the example of the sovereign. At Kief he one day issued a proclamation ordering all the inhabitants to repair the next morning to the banks of the river to be baptized; which they joyfully obeyed. 'If it be not good to be baptized,' said they, 'the prince and the boyars would never submit to it.'" *

Such was the manner in which Christianity was first introduced into Russia. Little advancement has been since made in the condition of the great body of the nation. The Czar still couples himself with the Almighty in his warlike proclamations to the people; and he still looks to the conquest of Byzantium with as much eagerness as did his great ancestor when he embraced Christianity and married the princess Anna. In fact no subsequent sovereign has lost sight of that early Russian idea; the Empress Catharine carried her conquests to Odessa, and inscribed over the western portal of that city, the significant motto: "*This is the road to Byzantium.*" Alexander was ready to join Napoleon in the partition of Turkey; but then, as his successor now, he demanded Constantinople to belong to his share. He said: "It is the key to my kingdom." Napoleon replied: "It is the gate of nations." Every pretence has been put forth, at different times, to pick a quarrel with the Sultan, and justify the execution of the rapacious designs of Russia. Until recently no sufficient excuse has been found. The Greek war of liberty in 1821, sustained by the Western powers, gave no opportunity; neither did the peremptory refusal to comply with the demand of Russia and Austria requiring the extradition of Hungarian and Polish refugees.

At length the favorable moment arrived. A long peace had greatly strengthened the forces of the Czar; his immense standing army required employment to divert attention from the dreams of revolution at home. Already in secret conclave with the diplomats of England about the prospective partitioning of Turkey, he received

* History of Russia from the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rurick, to the Accession of Catharine II. By W. Tooke. London. 1800.

with joy the news that France had tricked with the Sultan, under pretence of repairing the holy shrines, to gain the ascendency in the cabinet of Constantinople, and promote the interest of the Latin Church. Quick as thought he resolved to stir the smouldering embers of the old ecclesiastical controversy between the Eastern and Western churches, and thus arouse his nation by a religious enthusiasm to execute the darling project of his illustrious predecessors. To France, if need be, Tunis, Barca, Tripoli, the whole African coast as far as the Lybian desert, might be ceded. To England, ever greedy of gain and ready for a speculation in lands, Egypt, Candia, Cyprus, perhaps Rhodes and other islands, might, with safety, be given, with other "small favors too numerous to mention." Austria, of course, must accept Servia and a few provinces and keep quiet, or suffer the consequences. There was no other power to consult or fear.

Diplomacy was already busy with the partitioning of Turkey, projecting a new map of Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa. Stealing the march by a few months, Louis Napoleon, anxious to conciliate the good opinion of the church he of late so devoutly serves, and to give direction to the restlessness of French pride and ambition, as well as to render more stable his doubtful position, made a very humble request of the Sublime Porte, that he might be permitted to repair the holy shrines of Palestine. The very kind and unsuspecting Sultan yielded, without hesitation, to a request so reasonable in itself and so honorably presented. Nicholas in an instant saw, or thought he saw, a snake in the grass; for he perceived that Louis Napoleon had coupled with the repairing of the shrines certain *privileges* for the Catholics which belonged exclusively to the Greeks. So he wrote to Abd-ul-Medjid a pompous letter threatening to fight him and destroy his empire if he showed any such favor to his Catholic rival. The good-natured Seignor looked upon this as another Christian quarrel about a small matter, and so, for peace sake, delayed the fulfilment of his promise to favor Bonaparte. The Northern Bear had been aroused and would not allow so good a chance to slip through his fingers; so he dispatched

Menchikoff to demand of Medjid certain privileges for the *Greek* Christians resident in his dominions. This, after due consultation, he granted, and extended the same, and even greater privileges, to *all* his Christian subjects. This was more than Nicholas had contracted for; and instead of being satisfied, he increased his demand so far as to require the right of appeal to him as the head of the Greek Church, in case of difficulties among Greek Christians which they could not settle among themselves; thus virtually asking the Sultan to surrender some eight or ten millions of his own subjects, scattered all over his dominions, into the hands of the Czar. That was asking a little too much,—a practical dismemberment of the Ottoman empire,—and Abd-ul-Medjid, not being quite ready to commit suicide, protested against the exorbitant demand, appealing to Moslems and to Christians to sustain him in maintaining his position. The former at once rallied under the banner of the Prophet, resolved to defend the crescent against the Greek cross of Russia. France, which had revived this old feud, came forward with tolerable alacrity, for Romanism had much at stake. England, more warily waiting to calculate the chances, with her eye still on Egypt, and caring little about holy shrines, crescent or cross, Greek or Latin, decided, at length, as she could make no bargain with Russia without endangering, not only the peace of Europe but ultimately her own safety, that she would join this old rival in politics, commerce, and religion, and they together would use the crescent to humble the Czar and serve their own ends. Such is the position of affairs at the present moment. What it will be a year hence no mortal can know.

In order to a complete understanding of the Eastern question, it is necessary to know something of the actual condition of Turkey, the kinds and character of the people—the heterogeneous mass who make up that vast, straggling empire. This is no easy task; and we shall not dare attempt more than a bare notation of some general characteristics peculiar to that nation, or loosely agglomerated family of naturally hostile nations.

Religion is the prevailing characteristic of the various

nations composing the Ottoman Empire, and the only principle of affinity. In fact the Moslem admits no other form of government than that prescribed by his religion. The Koran is the codification of all the laws he acknowledges to be in force; he makes no other Declaration of Rights; he seeks no better Constitution. He is not like the early colonists in New England, who took the Bible for their statute book till they could make a better. The Turks call no conventions, hold no parliaments, alter, amend, adopt and abolish no laws. The law of progress is as unknown to them in legislation as it is in their social habits and physical condition. Being practical believers in the Divine Sovereignty, in the broadest sense of that term, the Turks stolidly submit to the revelations of fate as made known to them. Their Ulemahs expound to them the doctrines of the Koran. They take it all for gold, and sip their coffee, and smoke on in perfect indifference, not even taking the trouble to doubt! When once convinced that Allah demands of them a duty, they are willing to do it; fighting with utmost fury and desperation. The talismanic word with them is "Inshallah" —if God will. No metaphysician has yet traced the indications of that *will* sufficiently to determine the precise point at which their own wills assent to the imperative command. Being all good temperance men, they are not like Burns' Scotsman,

> "Clap in his cheek a Highland gill,
> Say, such is royal *George's will*,
> And there's the foe,
> He has nae thought but how to kill
> Twa at a blow.

In little else than warlike enterprise can the Turk be aroused from habitual indolence to show the smallest degree of activity. Laziness downright is his highest idea of luxury. He makes no improvement upon the past, contemplates none, dreams of none, desires none, would oppose any if proposed; and this is too true of all the Eastern nations, but the Turk excels them all. The nargillah is his constant companion, and the indolent luxury of his harem the next door to paradise. To all else he is stoically indifferent, till he hears the cry of war, and the call, in Allah's name, to go forth to battle. He

then mounts his fiery Arab steed, and rushes forth to meet his foe in deadly conflict, as indifferent of life as he was of labor before; for to die in battle gives him a Tezkerah into the paradise of Houries, and the highest grade of glory in the presence of his Prophet. Thus his religion becomes to him the rule of his conduct in war as well as in peace, and he sees no need of improvement.

The attempted reforms of Mahmoud II. by introducing patches of European civilization, have tended in a measure to destroy the vigor of the nation, by weakening the confidence of the masses in the orthodoxy of their rulers. And the Ulemahs have fostered that feeling, dreading the fate of the religion at whose altar they minister, if the light of Western civilization is once let in upon them. There is but one printing-press in all Turkey belonging to the Turks, and that does a very limited business. A small government paper, containing the public decrees, is issued weekly, at Constantinople. The French and Italians have journals at Constantinople and at Smyrna, under Catholic management, but they are miserable affairs and little read. The present Sultan has made many concessions to the diplomacy of the West, and has tried several experiments at reform; but every step has increased the suspicions of his ignorant and bigoted subjects; the Turks fear he is departing from the Koran, to follow the fashions and vanities of the world. Some even suspect him of treachery to the Islam faith, and of being untrue to the institutions of their country as established by their religion. They look with suspicion upon all foreigners, and greatly abhor the presence of Christian soldiers amongst them. Failure in the present conflict will cost the Sultan his throne and his head, and the whole family of Mahmoud II. will be sacrificed by the fierce bigotry of the natives; none could be more active in such a regicidal work than the Ulemahs, who lament the apostatizing tendencies of the ruling dynasty. Like the priests of all religions, they are wedded to the past, having fixed their standard there, and see no "mark of the high prize of their calling" before them, glowing brilliantly in the future intelligence, refinement, and happiness of all the people. Hence they, and those under their influence feel, no strong, hearty attachment to Abd-ul-Medjid, or to the movements in

which he is engaged. They sustain him merely because he is their grand Signor, and because the safety of their nation is threatened by their old enemy of the North.

The only attachment felt to the Sultan by the Arabs, who compose a large and formidable portion of the Empire, is based on the same law of the Koran, which requires the subject to obey his ruler and lay down his life in his defence. But there is not vitality enough in Islamism to make that or any other precept of much force over them. They would as soon fight for any other as for the rightful Prince: in fact they never stop to inquire who has the *right;* that is an idea unknown among them; an abstraction about which they give themselves no trouble to inquire. Whatever they can lay their hand on is theirs, as long as they can keep it. In their social position they are on a par with our Western savages, and no more reliable in the hour of danger.

The Egyptians are different. The stern conduct of Mohammed Ali wrought a complete revolution in the character of that people, taught them obedience to authority, and moulded them into a tolerable state of nationality. They are reliable, but not very valiant in fight. They are true Mussulmen, and will do good service as far as they can for their sovereign, in his present troubles; though under Ibrahim Pasha, they were ready to overthrow the Turkish power, and would have done it but for the interference of England, which did not want to see Egypt more powerful than it is, till under *her protection.* The Moslems are never reliable, for, being fatalists and bound by their religion to serve their rulers, and having no knowledge nor principle to guide them, and no distinct object before them, they are easily often deceived by the pretensions of ambitious men. The Egyptians have been governed by foreign rulers ever since the fatal conquests of Cambyses, the Persian destroyer of Egyptian monuments and glory.

The Turks form but a small portion of the Turkish Empire, probably not one in five, if one in ten, of all the inhabitants. Except at Constantinople and along the northern littoral of Asia Minor, they constitute an inferior proportion everywhere. They are the officers of government, the men of state, the nobility, in all the principal

towns, but nowhere form a majority, except in the places above indicated. It can hardly be expected that a government so circumstanced can be very strong or very stable.

As before observed, the only element of unity, the only adhesive property, is religion—Islamism; and this, like Christianity in too many countries, is not enough understood, or not enough felt to give any permanent stability to the empire. Ignorance is its main quality of strength; and no doubt there is enough of that to serve some time longer the objects of designing men, in all lands.

But we must not forget that a large share, nearly one half, of the inhabitants of Turkey are Christians. We have no positive data upon which to form an exact estimate; but a very safe calculation makes about 9,000,000, of the Greek Church, 3,000,000 of the Armenian Church, 350,000 Maronites, 750,000 Catholics, 400,000 Nestorians, 500,000 Monophysites—Copts, Syrian Jacobites etc. —14,550,000 Cristians in all. To these may be added 75,000 Druses, a fierce and warlike people, partly Christian, partly Moslem, partly heathen, and generally in concert with the Maronites. Then there are 500,000 Arnosuts, 750,000 Jews, 1,000,000 Koords, 100,000 Gipsies, Yezidis, etc., and an extensive heretical sect of Mahometans, called Metuali, the bitter enemies of the Ottoman government, on religious grounds.

The Turkish government treats with these various sects separately as so many nationalities, or rather it leaves them alone to make and execute their own laws in whatever relates to their civil polity or social and religious condition. It never interferes with their internal affairs further than to enforce its exactions of tribute and conscription, and prevent any direct attempt at rebellion, except when invoked by one sect complaining of another. Recently it demanded conscripts in some cases to increase the standing army, which has been very generally resisted. The late conflict with the Druses originated in their refusal to send their young men into the ranks of the Turkish army. In times of actual war most of these religious communities send out volunteers to sustain the Imperial government, but all deny the right of the Sultan to demand their services. It is easy to see that a nation

so constituted can make no dependence on its apparent numerical strength; the less so inasmuch as there is no common bond of sympathy among the differing sects, but commonly a feeling of rivalry which often runs into the bitterest hostility. Each generally feels a much greater respect for the general government, of whose oppressions they continually complain, than they do for each other. Adversity and opposition generally make friends; but it is not so among the Christians of the East; they are the greatest enemies to each other; and it is no uncommon thing that they fall out and fight and kill at the very tomb of their Lord, while celebrating the fête of his death, burial, and resurrection. Always a Turkish guard is stationed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and on all great occasions a military company is placed there to keep the worshippers from mobs and murders! Sad commentary on the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus! Foremost in these wrangles, are the Greek Catholics, those who have left the Orthodox Greek Church, and submitted to the claims of the Roman Pontiff. The Italian Catholics are too feeble to make much show of fight, but they are always found on the side of disturbance.

The Armenians are generally a quiet, peaceable, industrious people, who mind their own business, and do not much interfere with other people. They are the financiers, the brokers, and business men of Turkey. One of that church served long as the Treasurer of the Porte. Dissatisfied with the long disputes in the early councils of the church, before the doctrine of the Trinity finally was voted orthodox in its present shape and enforced by imperial decree, they withdrew in 536, after the council of Chalcedon had rejected the Monophysite theory. They hold to the one nature in Christ, and believe that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only. The Bible is their classic literature, and they read and expound it freely among the people. They worship mostly in the night or early in the morning, recite their ritual in their ancient language, but preach in the modern. They admit the monastic order after the rule of St. Basil, but their convents are so many schools for the higher grades of learning. Their secular priests may marry once, but never the second time.

They have a printing-press, and issue splendid copies of the Bible. They have a respectable national literature, and, in morals, rank highest among the Christians of the East. They have a fine large convent on Mt. Zion, nearly new, in which there is an elegant chapel. Their *Catholicos* or chief bishop, resides at Etschmiazim, a convent on Mt. Arrarat, near Erivan, the capital of Persian Armenia. The Popes have made many serious overtures to win them into submission to papal authority, but without success; except in one or two cases in Italy and at Marseilles. The Porte has generally shown them much favor, and they are much more strongly attached to his government than the Greeks.

The Maronites reside mostly in Mt. Lebanon where their founder St. Maro (or Marroun) took refuge after the condemnation of Monothelism in the council of Constantinople in 681. They are an industrious, frugal people, hospitable to the oppressed of all creeds, but implacable in their hatred of their enemies. Their government is a pure theocracy. Their Patriarch is their spiritual, civil, and military chieftain, and all the bishops, priests, and monks are his subalterns in authority. They have convents for monks, and ordain secular clergy though married. In pretence they submit to the authority of the Roman See, but pay little respect to it. They celebrate mass in the Syriac, which is, to the people and most of the priests, an unknown tongue. They read the Gospels in Arabic. They have a printing-press at Kanobin, in Mt. Lebanon, and carry on an extensive business in the cultivation of silk, and production of wine. They are united, strong, and warlike, fully resolved to maintain their liberty, let come what may. They have a small chapel on the hill of Precipitation at Nazareth, and another in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. They do not mingle much with other people in large towns. The Druses, at the south end of the Mt. Lebanon range, are on good terms with them, and the late Emir Beshir, the great prince of that nation, embraced their faith. Some Italian and Greek Catholics live amongst them, and with the Koords and Metuali they are on friendly terms. They are famed for being the friends of the persecuted, and will offer an asylum to all such, but suffer nobody to come among them to proselyte to another faith.

The Greeks are the most numerous and the most troublesome subjects of the Sultan. They claim pure orthodoxy in religion as theirs alone, and assume the right to condemn all who differ from them. They are generally an indolent, trafficking, treacherous people, austere and overbearing; nowhere in the East much famed for their honesty. Still they have some good qualities about them in common with the rest of mankind. But being more numerous, possessing more wealth and influence, it is much to be regretted they have not made a better use of their opportunity to recommend Christianity in a way to advance its interests and influence more rapidly. The heart of every philanthropist must be deeply pained when he looks on the fallen and degraded condition of Christianity in the land of its earthly birth; and his censure will fall most heavily on the Greek Church for its failure to cultivate its spirit, obey its precepts, and exhibit its moral power to save the world. With so many sacred mementos all about them, it would seem impossible to forget the Saviour as they have done, and sink so low into the spirit and vices, the rivalry and contentions, of the world. No doubt they have been oppressed—they are so still—but misfortunes should have kept them humble and innocent, made them forgiving, and lead them directly to seek the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, with a truer devotion to its spirit and love. But they, like the church of Rome, offer a most emphatic commentary upon the doctrine of Jesus, that man "can not serve God and mammon," that the blending of the church in the worldliness of the state, is most fatal to truth and piety. Form, with both, has taken the place of reality, the substance is lost in the shadow; like Satan they are contending about the body of Moses, while the spirit is departed. They have no love, no humility, no honesty, no good works, to illustrate the truth by the fruits of the spirit, and commend the gospel to the favorable regard of its enemies. They build and bedeck altars and consecrate them to names of saints; they vote creeds and draw their swords to defend them; they frown upon their enemies and seek their destruction. Jesus did not so; he lived to bless, and died to save. But alas, our rough picture is too exact a copy of things nearer home!

The Roman Catholics are not very numerous nor influential in all the East; but, instigated by the Propaganda, they are constantly on the alert, plying every art, adopting every trick, seizing upon every opportunity to win into subjection to papal authority all whom they can. Such tricks and meanness as are there employed would disgrace a political partizan in a primary caucus.[1] The class which has been won over from the Greek communion are the most fickle, boisterous, meddlesome, immoral portion; and so of the few Arabs who have adopted the Roman creed. Their converts are the most famous for their dishonesty; they are better known, because they come more frequently in contact with traders; and their sins have been so deeply colored as to give an unfavorable hue to the morality of all the Christians of the East, which is shady enough when seen at the best advantage. They have been, of late, one great cause of the hostilities among the various peoples in Syria. They are to-day exerting an evil influence in the affairs of Turkey; for Rome is more at fault than Russia in producing the commotions that now so excite the attention of the world. Jesuits can operate more secretly than any other sect; they have a mightier and more perfect machine at their command; and, of course, in case of failure, they can escape detection, and point with triumph at the wickedness of those who were duped by them. In case of success they openly take no glory to themselves. Their machinations are busy in the present crisis. They are working the wires to do what they can—not much it may be, when so many elements are combined, and the object is so indeterminate. But their *tracks* may be seen at any step in the progress of events. Prayers go up from all their altars for the success of the coalition, and the downfall of the "ancient heresy," of the Greek Church. They prefer the reign of the Moslem to the Greeks. Baron Geramb, a Trappist monk, said, twenty yeas ago:—

"The Greek nation, which has always excited such a strong interest, for which all other nations have made such sacrifices, never had it at heart to prove itself truly worthy of them; and in these latter times, when it had so fair a cause to defend, it knew not how

[1] The *One* Church allows Greek and Maronite Priests to marry, while it insists on celibacy at home.

to answer the expectations that were formed of it. No doubt there are in its bosom honorable exceptions: this, I cheerfully acknowledge, I can even myself, attest; but those who form these exceptions are too few in number to prevent me from declaring that, in spite of the fanaticism, in spite of the aversion for the sciences, in spite of the despotism and the cruelty, of the Mussulman, I prefer a Turk to a Greek.[2]

"The Greeks, strong in their wealth, never have employed, neither do they still employ it, but to oppress the Latins, whom they view with the same eye as a haughty conqueror does a vanquished nation. *One word* from the Catholic princes to the Sublime Porte would suffice to put an end to this state of things; but that word none has the courage to utter! A minister of a great power at Constantinople, to whom a zealous missionary was making, in the name of the crucified Jesus, humble remonstrances on the lamentable state of the holy places, at the same time imploring his powerful protection, replied, "What! for the sake of four stones would you turn Europe and Asia topsey-turvey!" . . . . A sacrilegious answer!" and the more absurd, inasmuch as nothing more was solicited than a mere recommendation to the Ottoman ministry." [3]

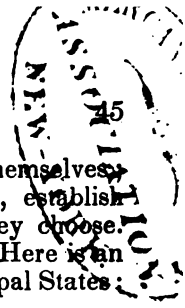
"The Greeks and Armenians have possessed themselves of it, (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) as of many other places which belonged to the Latins; and their gold, profusely dispensed to the Pasha of Damascus and the Porte, now secures the powerful occupation." [4]

So writes an Austrian nobleman turned monk and travelling in Palestine in the service of Catholic interests. Speaking of the sword of Godfrey de Bouillon, in the Latin chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, he says: "This sword they (the Latins) consider, and with good reason, as a most valuable treasure. I was conducted, after divine service, to the place where it has rested for eight centuries. I looked at for it a long time with respect. I felt a desire to touch it. I hesitated. . . . . Did it become *me* to grasp the sword of him, who, kindling anew the ardor of the ancient faith, secured from the hordes of infidels the tomb of the Son of God? At last, I could not withstand the impulse to draw it from its scabbard, to examine it, to raise it to my lips! . . . . Then, turning towards the Holy Sepulchre, I three times saluted with it the sacred tomb for which it fought; and I afterwards saluted with it the spot where lie the ashes of the hero." Describing a quarrel in the

[2] Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Mt. Sinai, p. 35.
[3] Idem, p. 75. [4] Idem, p. 97.

Holy Sepulchre, by which some interruption was threatened to the Catholic service by the Greeks, he says: "At these words, I dashed down Calvary, forced my way with some difficulty through the crowd, and penetrated into the Holy Sepulchre, determined to lose my life rather than suffer a sacrilegious profanation! I found myself *alone:* luckily the Turkish guard succeeded in its efforts to keep back the most head-strong, and by its energetic resistance afforded time to finish the holy ceremonies,"—(by the Catholics!) "The sanctuaries were not given up to the Greeks till all the Catholics had retired." Quite heroic for an humble Trappist handling Godfrey's sword and dashing down Calvary to lose his life to defend "four Catholics"—"a Polish shoemaker and his wife, another Pole, and your humble servant," against the inconsiderateness of "ten thousand Greeks, Armenians, Maronites," &c. These quotations are introduced here to show in miniature, the actual state of the Christian church in the East. The spirit of the Baron is an epitome of the feelings and intentions of the whole Romish church today. Patient perseverance has turned up a powerful prince, who "for four stones," or for one throne, is willing to "turn Europe and Asia topsy-turvey." Louis Napoleon, the perjured President, to aggrandize himself, has "recommended to the Ottoman ministry" a measure which is in a fair way to do the desired work.

The sympathies of the civilized world are on the side of the Turkish Emperor; and well they may be, for, after all, he is a truer friend to Christianity and to human freedom and improvement than the Pope or the Czar. That his people are far behind the times, all admit, and Islamism may be unfriendly to progress, but is not popery and the Czar equally so? Virtually free toleration has existed in the East for years; at least so far as royal firmans could make it. Protestant missionaries have encountered less hindrances from Mussulmen than from Greeks, Catholics and Maronites. The Armenians are quite liberal, because better informed, and less intriguing. The Sultan has not given, simply because he *could not* give, to Protestants the privileges enjoyed by other sects. They are so various in opinions and names that they have



no real concentration or government among themselves; but he gives them full liberty to build houses, establish schools, preach, and pray, and believe, as they choose. Does the Pope allow that in his dominions? Here is an authentic account recently received from the Papal States:

"The number of arrests at Ancona and Baglona, of persons suspected of having embraced the Protestant faith, is over 400. Ravenna and many other places on the Adriatic are visited by "an inquisitorial commission" appointed by the Cardinal Secretary of State, to search out and punish *heresy*.

"As strange as it may appear to the civilized world, if a person is found praying, without having a rosary in her hand or a crucifix before her, and if she can not prove that she accomplishes regularly her religious duties, (mass, confession, etc.,) she is in a state of suspicion. A man named Thomas Dotari has been arrested upon the accusation of having been seen 'six days successively, reciting his prayers on his knees without making the sign of the cross.' The accused can not be released unless he can prove that he has been recently to confession."[5]

Nor is the Czar much more tolerant. Peter the Great was at Moscow when the bishops were congregated to elect a patriarch of the Russian church in the place of one recently deceased. Peter entered their council unasked and said: "I am your patriarch; you need choose no other." Since that time the Czar, though the chief of military affairs, has ruled the church. There are two great parties in Russia, the conservative or Muscovite party, seeking the triumph of Pan-slavism, and the party of progress, which accepts light from the West. As a large share of the people are nearly barbarians, the priests all came from the West, from Poland and the borders of Germany, and partook largely of the spirit of intellectual and social progress; and, in preaching, they, of course, exhibited the advantages of education, the comforts and refinements of civilization, and, as far as they dared, the doctrines of equal justice, mercy and love, rising above the accidental distinctions of birth, property, rank, and condition. The people began to have a taste for liberty; the poor serf dared to ask for justice in God's name, and for the sake of Him who who tasted death for every man. The government became alarmed, and forbade all preaching,

[5] Semaine Religieuse.

commanding the priests to confine their labors to the reading of the ritual service. Since then little progress has been made in the intellectual and religious culture of the common people.

These are the two powers now leading off in the commotions of the East, each jealous of the other, and both striving for the ascendency; one openly proclaims a crusade in the name of God and religion to sustain and protect the Greek Church; the other secretly hoping and diligently laboring to accomplish the triumph of Roman Catholicism, which has long and ardently sought universal dominion, and, since the reactions of 1848, thought it much nearer than ever before. One would lengthen the cords of his dominion and spread off a wing southward over the Levant and the Holy Land; the other would strengthen the stakes of his doubtful empire by making his power felt over Europe, and securing the prayers of the papal church. The former has the greater strength; the latter the more cunning; both would like to borrow help by fair promises; but Romanism has more influence than the Czar, of whom all the nations stand in fear, and can make larger bids for allies.

It is a curious sight, one which the world never saw before—Romanism, Protestantism, and Moslemism, in rank and file, on sea and land, warring to the knife against the Christian church of the East! The Millennium of nations would seem to be approaching, were not the characters in the coalition so well understood, and their past actions so distinctly remembered. One can not refrain from thinking that pride and self-interest are at the bottom. No great principle is involved, no everlasting rights are at stake, no serious wrong has been done. Has Nicholas, has Aberdeen, has Louis Napoleon, given to the world a sufficient pretext for their bloody butchery of God's children? One can hardly ascertain that either party has malice prepense in his heart. Neither owns up; but all begin to make excuses beforehand for what they are compelled to do *voluntarily!* Kings and prelates can do as they please; the people must stand and be shot down at their bidding! It is glorious to die a martyr for religion and monarchy!

Abd-ul-Medjid has shown himself the greater and bet-

ter man so far in this whole affair. He has received and treated with courtesy and candor every proposition coming from the rival Christian factions, and accorded privileges to opinions his fathers and his religion pronounced to be infidel; such as neither Greek nor Roman Christians will accord to each other, much less to those who espouse the cause of Islam or of Protestantism. Until his dominion was invaded by a hostile army, he made no serious preparation for war, and then he accepted every proposition for peace, till the combined diplomacy virtually asked a surrender of his sovereignty, when he sent his army forth, like an honest ruler, to defend his empire. Still he assented to the persuasions of Christian advice. Step after step he has suffered himself to be led into the meshes of the diplomatic net cast about him by the intrigues of designing nations, till he finds it difficult to extricate himself, and will find it more so hereafter. The bold demand to expatriate all his Greek subjects, while those who assent to the Catholic domination are to be retained, came from a quarter, and at a time, which indicated the cloven foot of the Papal hierarchy to be treading in its old paths. Should the firman to that effect be every where executed, nine millions, or more than one third of the entire population of Turkey, would be driven out, homeless and penniless, upon the world. Catholics are up to such tricks; it is not the first time they have tried starvation to make proselytes to their church. They know the convincing power of the argument based on the love of life, of homes, and of kindred, and are ever ready to apply it to remove dangerous *heresies.* Six or eight millions saved by this means from perdition out of the bosom of their old rival, is certainly an object worthy the "nephew of his uncle;" and in honor of such a glorious act, no doubt Pio Nono will order a *Te Deum* in St. Peter's, after the fashion of St. Bartholomew's Eve.

The Sultan does not pretend to be governed by the Christian standard of morality, and is not, therefore, responsible for such acts demanded by Christians themselves towards their brother Christians. He has only yielded to the enlightened counsellings of his loving *Christian* advisers, voluntarily urged upon him—the banishment of subjects born and bred in his dominions, and, politically,

no more rebellious nor half so dangerous as those who make the request. Their removal or farther subjection will give complete ascendency to Romanism in the East, and the Pope and Napoleon will be content. It will only remain for them to work their way out of the attendant difficulties with the least delay possible, without endangering the safety of the advantages gained. Almost any terms with Russia will suit them. But for the dread of Russian influence against their church, and the balance of power they hope to exert, the Sultan would be forsaken of his allies so soon as England had made sure of Egypt.

The course pursued by the allies in reference to the attempt of the Greeks of Epirus, Thessaly, Macedon, &c., to throw off the Turkish yoke and join themselves to their brethren, should not be forgotten here. For attempting to do what the Greeks of Attica and the Morea did thirty years ago, they now crush what they then helped to sustain and defend. Wherefore this inconsistency in the conduct of France and England? Are Greek Christians of the north now less worthy of freedom from oppression than those of the south were then? Why do those very conscientious and patriotic and enlightened nations find it in the line of duty, as Christians, to send their fleets to the Piræus and their armies to Athens to *prevent* what they went there before to sustain? For the same reason, doubtless, that Capo d'Istria, a native *Greek*, was assassinated at Nauplia when President of Greece, and a *Roman Catholic* prince from Bavaria made king in his stead. He was well known to be opposed to the wiles of the Jesuits in his endeavors to restore the Ionian Republic, and for that he lost his life. France would not see the borders of Greece extended even with a Catholic king to rule over it, because the Greek constitution provides that the next king shall be baptized into the Greek religion. We smile at these petty intrigues of politico-religious diplomacy, and sometimes doubt whether it can possibly be so. Jesuits watch and pray and labor in such intrigues, and nations are crushed or rise, and thousands bleed, to prevent the prevalence of truth and freedom among men. There never was a clearer case of Jesuistic intrigue and wickedness than in the threatening attitude assumed by the allies

over Greece and the northern provinces, at the present moment. The pretence is that to allow these provinces to become free is so much gained for Russia against Turkey. How so? Is there not a wide territory between? And have not the Greeks themselves, from the Catholic king down, solemnly declared all disconnexion from Russia? But they are of the same religion. Indeed! Then is not Romanism at work in the diplomacy of the East, and one of the controlling elements in the present troubles? All who will look calmly upon this whole question must see it distinctly, and feel in his soul a more profound abhorrence of the wickedness perpetrated in the name of our holy religion.

Nobody can seriously desire the continuance of Islamism in the Turkish empire for its own sake—that great barrier to civilization, which knows no law, right, justice, humanity, progress, not inscribed on the leaves of the Koran. But nobody wants a worse despotism in its place. The Turk has well nigh served out his time. He cannot much longer resist the light that now shines through school-houses, printing-presses, free pulpits, and commercial enterprises, scattering knowledge, freedom, charity, broadcast over the face of the whole earth. The Sultan, his ministry, and many nobles, have broken the shell; it remains for Christendom to crush the viper. No one sect, or party, or nation can do it. The Catholics can not; the Greeks can not; France can not; Russia can not; England can not. The world has no one great man now; no one master-spirit whose word can still the tempest of human activities struggling after liberty and right, and command the nations into silence. Nicholas is the last of a race of military great men, and he is blockaded. The masses move now, and, by associated effort, seeking the redemption of the race. They look prayerfully up to the universal Father, and demand of monarchs and of hierarchs the admission of their natural and inherent rights. In the name of God and justice they will ultimately obtain them. Scarce a despotism can stand alone. Nations long hostile and envious shake hands, and go forth together to prop each other's thrones, to barricade them against the assaults of the long-outraged people.

They may abide awhile longer, but gradually and surely is the despotic element in politics and religion becoming weaker, and, as "many run to and fro in the earth and knowledge increases," it will finally die out, and the world be free.

A just God will not suffer another power more despotic than Islamism to grow up in Jesus' name and bear rule in the East, to continue to curse that fairest portion of our earth with wasting and desolation. The empire that now sits upon those continents may go to pieces; but out of the fragments can never be constructed another more oppressive. The armies of other nations may congregate there; but the "sword of Godfrey de Bouillon" shall never salute, three times, a Roman Catholic throne erected in the Holy Land. Protestantism beareth not the lamp of God in vain. Free toleration must prevail in all the earth. The human soul, which God has touched with the finger of truth, which Christ has died to redeem, will burst the fetters of religious and political slavery and assert its freedom. The "living oracles" have not spoken in vain. The "spirit of prophecy" still lives in the moral eloquence of universal benevolence, seeking the removal of all evil and the enfranchisement of the race.

The Holy Land, wrapt in sackcloth and sitting in the dust, faded and wrinkled, looks out from the cradle of nations, and asks the sympathy of her children. She stretches out her trembling hands towards two continents, and begs for aid from those she has blessed. The day of her redemption draweth nigh. The present commotions shall not cease till, by ways we know not, long strides shall have been taken to deliver the land of miracle and marvel from the power of oppression. High above her sacred mountains shall be raised the standard of freedom, intelligence, charity, inscribed with "THE LOVE OF GOD, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD." It shall float there freely to the spicy breezes which come through her vallies and over her plains; and the loud shouts shall yet go up from redeemed millions—"Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will among men." W. S. B.

Art. IV.

Sin its own Avenger.

It is the purpose of this essay very briefly to consider what those symbols signify which are employed in Scripture to represent the spiritual condition of the sinner, in respect to the effects, or the real influence of moral evil.

The Scriptures teach that the guilty shall not be unpunished; that he who doeth wrong shall be recompensed therefor; that every man shall be rewarded according to his works. Whatever hope we may indulge of sinning with impunity, or of compromising with justice, we shall find it to be a fact, that there is no way of evading the eternal law of reaping what we sow.

This being the fact, the questions of *time* and *mode* arise. When and how is the punishment inflicted? One sacred writer says with reference to transgressors, "Woe unto their soul! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves." In the very act of sinning, the sinner involves himself in shame and suffering. The words of wisdom are, "He that sinneth against me, wrongeth his own soul." In disobeying the divine requirements, he abuses himself. And again, "The wages of sin is death;" and, "it is an evil thing and bitter, that they have forsaken God." These scriptures certainly must signify that there is a very close connection between sin and its reward; that the eternal law binds the deed with its effects and reward.

But for a long time was this truth of the ever-present evils of transgression overlooked, and it was commonly thought that sin in itself was pleasant, and in its earthly consequences advantageous to mankind. So blinded were men by their theories, that a fact kept constantly before their eyes, and pressing continually upon their experience, was yet unnoticed and disbelieved. Not all the obvious wretchedness attendant on sin availed to convince the many that sin is a present evil. No one seemed to understand its actual effects upon the mind and heart, —how it perverts the moral nature, blights the affections,

warps the intellect, and enervates the will. No one supposed the penalty of sin to be the evils in which it necessarily involves its victims,—but some other thing. Only the fear of future retribution deterred from unrestrained indulgence in its fancied pleasures. And the chief inducement to virtue which the moralist presented, was the distant recompense of bliss beyond the grave; against which temptation ever urged the pressing motive of present benefit and satisfaction. No one perceived that sin itself is the real evil from which men ought to seek salvation; but how to escape the penalty of sin, was the all-absorbing question. It was the problem and the work of life.

But the punishment God's law awards to sin, is not an outward, arbitrary chastisement like that which man inflicts; but the results which naturally flow from moral disorder. The darkness with which sin clouds the mind, the remorse with which it pierces conscience, the blight with which it smites affection, crushes hope, destroys peace; the rage to which it excites the passions, the vain desires it nourishes, and the sorrow, shame, and moral death which it produces,—these are the chief punishment of sin. It may indeed, and it often does, involve its victims in other and outward evils; but the internal evils are the unavoidable ones, and are of all by far the greatest, more to be feared and shunned than any outward infliction. Whatever the outward circumstances of the sinner, his great misery is that he has canker and corruption at his heart.

The figurative expressions used in Scripture to represent the spiritual condition of the sinner, fully warrant this position. They show that the state of mind which sin induces, is itself the severest form of punishment. The space I feel at liberty to occupy will not admit of more than a few suggestions in connection with the instances to which I shall refer.

1. The transgressor is represented by the Saviour as weary, heavy laden, wanting rest. We readily understand the import of these expressions. Hard is his lot whom necessity compels to toil when the whole frame aches with weariness and every nerve and fibre is suffering from exhaustion. Not unfrequently does the oppressed look forward, with a kind of mournful satisfaction, to the

quiet grave, as the termination of his trials, and a home whose still repose shall never more be broken by the strife for gain, or the voice that calls to toil. Yet this weariness of body but faintly represents that weariness of spirit which the transgressor suffers, as he turns from scene to scene, and from one purpose to another, in search of satisfaction. The soul involved in guilt has really no time nor place of rest. It ever has some end to compass, through which it hopes for higher good, or some veil to weave to hide a past offence; for it lives without that reliance on the divine arm which alone can give assurance of protection and support at all times, and in every place. This sad unrest, which is a consequence of the soul's conflict with spiritual laws, is the chastisement ordained of God to restrain it from plunging into darker depths of guilt, and from continuing in disobedience forever. Who would increase the troubles of such a wretched life? Christian sympathy and love require us rather to pity and forgive, and to seek the return of the sufferers from their folly. Thus did the Saviour, when he said, "Come unto me, all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

2. Again, the sinner is described as poor and needy, famishing from thirst and hunger. When we count up the sum of privations and sufferings which follow in the train of poverty, do we think it to be an enviable lot? Could we wish upon its subjects a greater evil than that which has befallen them? Even when it comes through their own fault, is it not in itself an evil sufficient for their chastening? What shall we say, then, of the spiritually poor, whose condition is so inadequately represented by the picture of worldly destitution? Is not the poverty of soul he suffers sufficient chastisement for him? Of the divinest elements of life and joy his soul is destitute. The wealth of virtue, faith, and worship, is not his. The riches of the universe, and the overflowing fulness of divine beneficence are not for his enjoyment. He has no adequate appreciation of the countless mercies daily manifested in Providence. That which to the real Christian is the highest, deepest and dearest of all treasures, is to him a name, a void. Without communion with the Father, without the peace for the present and the hopes for the

future which truth alone can give, the spirit must be poor indeed. Surely, if Christ was poor, that through his poverty we might be rich, his true disciples will desire most of all to impart the riches of his truth and grace to the spiritually poor.

3. But again, the transgressor is represented as afraid, afflicted, tempest-tossed and comfortless. Fear is one of the most painful emotions of the human heart. Sin takes away the courage of the soul. "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." They are haunted by the consciousness of guilt. This guilt seems open to the Omniscient Eye, and to the eyes of all. They shrink from every thing that stirs. They know not God, they trust him not; and they therefore fear that all is going wrong, when faith in overruling goodness would assure them that all is well, and working for the highest good of them that love the Lord. They are like the mariner upon the sea, where billows roll beneath, and tempests beat above. No feeling of security have they,—no hope, which "as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, entereth into that within the vail"—but all is commotion, "like the troubled sea whose waters cannot rest, but cast up mire and dirt." It is not too much to say of such that they are comfortless. Racked by fierce passions and pursued by gloomy fears, they have no source of satisfaction, nor spring of inward joy, like that which flows from trust in God and from the practice of virtue and religion. The evils here described are but another consequence of the perversion of our moral nature,—another form of punishment for sin. And who would add to it one pang more than should be necessary to the welfare of society. The mission of the Saviour was to save the soul from this fallen state, and bring it to the light of truth, and to the love that casts out fear.

4. Again, the sinner's state of mind is represented by sickness. It is said, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." Faintness and sickness! who can be at a loss to understand what these terms signify? When the brow is burning with disease, when the heart and pulses beat with pain, when the flesh is failing, then the sufferer fitly represents the moral state of the transgressor. Disease is not only painful, but, in many forms, how

loathsome! To the eye accustomed to discern moral distinctions, what physical disease so loathsome as vice and moral pollution? What sickness so distressing as the sickness of the soul? And then to think that men bring such evils upon themselves voluntarily; that they who would be vigilant to shun a fever, or guard against consumption, will nurse those fires of passion which consume their moral life, and think the deadening of their moral sensibilities tends to increase their happiness! Who that has any sense of the heinousness of sin would not rather die a thousand deaths, than have his spiritual nature all ruined? The disease that bows the strong man's frame and makes it tremble, if the spirit still is strong and the heart pure, is not to be compared with the disease which prays upon the soul. Well might Jesus say with reference to such, "The sick need a physician."

5. Yet again, the Scripture speaks of the transgressor as being deaf. When the ear is closed to all sound of murmuring rills, or singing birds, or the sweet voice of affection, we feel that one high source of happiness is taken away. For large measures of the common joys of life, are we indebted to the quick reporter of all the melodies and voices that float amid the atmosphere in which we move. Sin makes the spirit deaf to a thousand melodies and voices of delight which it otherwise might hear. It shuts out the voice of God, as he speaks continually in nature and in life; it shuts out the voices also of good men, of angels and the Mediator. To the humble and devoted, God is ever speaking through the magnificence of heaven and the fulness of the earth, the convictions of the conscience, and the deep feelings of the heart. The heavens declare his glory, and the earth is vocal with his praise; day unto day uttereth speech, and all the experiences of life are suggestions of deep import, and invitations to ascend that heavenly way, which, like a shining light, shines more and more unto the perfect day. But this harmonious language is lost upon the sinful soul. It heeds not, it hears not the highest lessons of nature and of life.

6. The soul of the sinner is also blind. There are few greater earthly blessings than the sense of sight; hence there can be few greater evils than its loss. Compar-

atively, how desolate is he who dwells in darkness, shut out from all the visions of beauty and glory which so move and melt the heart. How exposed as well as helpless, how unfortunate every way, is the condition of the sightless child. May we not then conceive the desolate condition of the sinner whose soul is blind. Sin dims the image of God, darkens the light of truth, casts a pall over the dispensations of the Father, thickening the veil of mystery which hangs over the events of life, and renders all inexplicable its most wonderful experiences. If then we have compassion on the blind, why suppose the spiritually blind must be forever shut out from the compassion of the eternal Father.

7. The sinner is also called a prisoner, a captive, a slave. Wretched as the condition of the chattel-slave may be, it but faintly represents the evils of slavery to sin. His master may be vile and cruel; but the vilest and most cruel tyrant is sin itself; the master has power only to enslave the body; sin robs the soul of its freedom and holds it captive. The moral and immortal nature of the chattel-slave is simply undeveloped, while that of the slave to sin is developed perversely.

8. But once more. The sinner is spoken of in Scripture phrase as being foolish, simple or unwise, as being beside himself, or morally insane, as being lost, and even dead. It is not that he will be lost unless he seek salvation; but he is already lost, and from this lost state it was that Jesus came to save him. It is not that he will die, unless he repent in season; he is already dead in trespasses and sin; and from this condition of moral death it was that Christ came to restore him and to give him spiritual life. We can conceive of no worse state than that of a soul cut off from communion with spiritual realities, as the dead are from communion with the scenes of earth. That must be death indeed, with reference to all the highest powers and divinest energies of men.

We see from all these figurative expressions that sin is its own avenger, carrying with it its own sufficient recompense. The punishment shall cease when the simple are made wise, the lost found, the deaf restored to hearing, and the blind to sight; when the slave and prisoner are redeemed, the sick healed, and the dead made alive. To

the extent to which our souls are polluted and enslaved by sin, are our characters and conditions reflected by these several mirrors that are held up before us by the sacred writers. We may remain in this unenviable state just so long as we prefer to do so, and we may leave it, by the help of heaven, when we will. O. P.

Art. V.

The Will.

Bockshammer on the Freedom of the Human Will: Translated from the German, with additions: by A. Kaufman, Jr. Andover: Gould & Newman, 1855.

It may seem to argue weakness, or presumption, in any one, to attempt a discussion of the difficult subject which we have announced. Our plea is, that however intricate the subject, it is one of great practical importance, and that the mystery of the unknown and unsolvable must not be permitted to prevent us from studying, using, and conforming to, such things as may be known.

In the outset, to avoid all misapprehension, let it be understood that we recognize a divine government, supreme, eternal, and embracing in its grasp all men and things. We acknowledge our inability to reconcile our deductions from the facts which we are about to discuss concerning the freedom of the will, with our deductions from this fact. But in any conflict which the deductions of logic may raise betwixt perceived truths, our loyalty must be yielded to the truths, and not to logic. Let logic wait until *all* the premises are known. While we must allow that our perceptions of truth are sometimes imperfect, it is often found that the deductions of logic are absurd, contradicting the plainest and simplest matters of fact. The belief in those two great articles of faith, God's sovereignty and man's freedom, may be called almost universal. There is recorded a decision of the calm and

learned Melancthon on this subject, which seems wise. "From a letter of his to Calvin, it appears that a friend of the former, named Francis Stadianus, was bold enough to avow his belief both in Providence and contingency, though he admitted that he could not reconcile their co-existence. Melancthon himself acceded to his views, nor have the researches of modern inquirers been successful in discovering any other outlet, consistent with revelation, from this intricate labyrinth."[1] When one, taking his departure from some great truth, like that of God's sovereignty, or man's freedom, drives thence a remorseless train of logic over all other facts, his course is like that of a headstrong ship-master, who, from the true point of his departure, deduces his position day by day from a careful dead reckoning of his courses and distances, and resolves to direct his voyage by that and nothing else. If rocks or islands appear in his course, he still adheres to his theory, which determines that they have no business there,—relies on his log and compass, and boldly resolves to treat them as phantoms and sail over them. Happily for the metaphysical navigator, his aerial ship is not made of heart of oak, to stick, or split upon the rocks; but though rent from stem to stern by the sturdy point of unyielding fact, may still hold on its course. It is a pity some of these battered craft do not go down.

But let us apply ourselves to our problem of the human will. The first question is, what is the will? The human will is the power by which determinations, or purposes, are formed. It is the power by which, in any given case, we determine to do, or not to do. It is a conscious energy, the fountain of purposed actions. It is separated, perhaps, by "thin partitions," from understanding, choice, and desire. A man may have understanding of many things, concerning which he forms no purpose. The understanding then may act separately from the will. The distinction between choice and will may seem more subtle, and to some impracticable. "Choice is the act of selecting from two or more things that which is preferred." This may differ from the will so as to be separable from it. A man at the parting of several roads may prefer one to the others, and yet not have a will to go in either;

[1] Dyer's Calvin, p. 221.

between two or more farms, he may prefer one, without the will to purchase any; between several courses of action, he may prefer one, and yet defer the will to execute it. There may be cases in which he has willed to pursue some one out of several courses of action, without having as yet determined which it shall be; and then he may choose which of them it shall be, and pursue it; the executive will being thus anterior to the choice. In these cases, we can distinctly separate the choice from the will; and one case where we can thus separate between them, must prove that they are not identical.

The task is easier and more direct to distinguish betwixt will and desire. The desirous man is by no means always the willing man. Far from this. The will often confronts the whole force of desire, and arrests its course with an impassable barrier. In these lofty decisions of the will, taking sides with the highest reason, and holding in check the whole array of desire, are seen some of the noblest exhibitions of our nature; they reveal that vital force in man—that locomotive life,—in virtue of which he is not adrift on the stream of things, but, with self-subsisting power, stems the broad current and ascends.

The positions already advanced may be illustrated by considering the polity of the human mind under the semblance of a state. The will is the executive department of this human polity. Its main duty is to enforce the laws; but it is not powerless; it has a veto. The understanding is its council; reason, the attorney-general; judgment, the supreme court. The affections and desires, —by what emblem shall we signalize them, unless we call them the populace, swayed by contending passions, sometimes accordant with the law, sometimes opposed to it. This supreme executive, the will, lies often inactive, while the busy populace of desires and passions fill the human microcosm with their restless motions, and carry their measures over its quiescent head; but when once aroused, uprises the will to check or to repel them. Or when some of the greater purposes of life are to be accomplished, the dominant will hushes, by its mandate, all strife, and summons all the forces of the state to the work. When the will is earnest, they must obey, and all the forces of the man, marshalled and moved by its behests,

are enforced to yield it, perhaps for years, implicit obedience. There is a dignity in the will which can thus "withhold man from his desire," and hold him to a determined course, despite all adverse influences, as the rudder holds the great ship to her appointed way, and thrusts her through opposing winds and conflicting seas.

Thus does it appear that we may separate the will from understanding, choice, and desire, so that, in any given case, it may be found not coincident with one or other of them. Often it appears to lie asleep, and permit the desires to work their pleasure and float the enervated man whither they list. Is there not an unhappy example of this in the habitual drunkard. The choice of any sane man, between that condition and the happy state of a temperate man, must be in favor of the latter. His will can enforce that choice; but in multitudes of cases it does not, and the evil desires rule. It is comparatively easy in such cases to bring the sufferer to a pungent sense of his condition; the decision of the reason may be obtained in favor of the better course; but from the solemn decision of the will, he shrinks back shuddering, and the passions rule. He forebodes the dread conflict which that decision "I will," would rouse through all his nature. Yet is it plain to every sense that the man is answerable for what the will permits, as well as for what it ordains. The man whose evil desires override the will, and get fulfilled, as it were under protest, is a bad man; for the pure reason and the pure will should bear rule in him with one accord. Yet such a man seeks not a course of sin for its own sake, but follows it for other reasons, notwithstanding its evil. But the man whose desires, and reason, are driven by the remorseless force of a will to evil, is a demon. The man whose benevolent desires lead him to kindly action may be styled a good-natured man. But the God-like form of virtue is where clear reason and pure desires agree with a living and sustained will, to follow the ways of justice, mercy and faith.

Let us pass to consider the limitations of will. It is first to be noted, that it has no power to infringe, in act, any laws except those which relate to its own direction, that is, moral laws. It cannot decide what the desires shall ask for; what perception the understanding shall have of

things laid before it; nor what the reason shall deduce from the things perceived by the understanding. It may however, shut out certain things from the gaze of the understanding, and thus exclude some of the predicates of reason. Accordingly, if a man has done his duty in regard to chastening and educating his desires, and has not wilfully debarred his reason of any light, he cannot be held responsible for desires, understanding, reasoning or belief. Nor, on the other side, can he claim any merit for them. Their laws lie beyond the action of the will, and are not moral, in such sense as to carry responsibility with them, until they come into the province of the will. Then the will must decide as to these motions and propositions, and as its decisions are right or wrong, arises merit or demerit. The phenomena of sin and righteousness must all appear in the chamber of the will. The will has not power to say what the desires shall present there, at any moment, nor what the reason shall argue on their presentation; but it has power to say what shall be endorsed for action; and then, though the act may never be outwardly performed, the man is responsible. We let pass any consideration of those futile, yet guilty attempts of the will to control laws never placed within its reach, and mention only another limitation of the will, which arises from the foregoing.

The will cannot originate any motion, but acts on that which is presented to it.

The powers of the will are made quite apparent by the views already presented. It stands porter at the gate through which must pass all the issues of life, with power to admit or exclude. It presides at all councils of life, with power to sanction, or forbid. Or, dropping all similitudes, its despotic office is to give the autocratic word *to do*, or *to forbear*, and then to hold man to the purpose. In virtue of this last quality, it lends persistence and force to the human character, and qualifies man to pursue, for years, with admirable patience and diligence, some result which he sees far off with the eye of faith. No man has made a distinguished mark upon the world, who has not been distinguished by this tenacity of purpose. Such a will seems to match itself with fate, and becomes itself a rival destiny, able to look the elder one in the face,—"Nor

bate one jot of heart or hope," but still bear up and steer right onward.

Can this will then be other than free? Can it indeed be a will, if it is not free? And if it be not free, what are we but parts of some great machine, destined to move upward now, and now downward, as the Almighty axle turns. What are we but the fingers of some myriad-handed giant, or deity, with which he ever labors? If by any means, or at any time, the power of will should be taken from us, we are, as men, annihilated, or suspended; a fragment of our nature may continue to be, but that fragment is not man, until this power is restored. But must it not be admitted that the will has limitations and conditions, and must not this admission be held to invalidate the preceding views of the independence of the will? Undoubtedly there are limitations and conditions; nor can we conceive of any being, or nature, to which they do not attach. The law of his own being surrounds even Him who filleth all things. It is impossible for Him to lie, or to love injustice, or to abdicate his own nature. Within its domain, the human will seems as potent as the divine will, that is, it is adequate to the exigence. It is one of the majestic lineaments of the divine image in man; and we are struck with this august feature of the infinite Original in a creature who presents so many traits of frailty as man.

It invests with glory the toils and struggles of this earthly state. We no more regard these toils and struggles as the enforced labor of slaves, constrained to every movement by the will of some superior, but as the vast activity of swarming hosts, who strive for themselves; though they strive not alone, for there is One, "who works in them both to will and to do, of his good pleasure;" and they are aided by the many good and perfect gifts that come to them from the Father of mercies. But as the infinite gave scope to his free activities in creating them, not as instruments, but as "coworkers," waking their million chords to break forever the monotone of Pantheism, that He at last might be "all in all," not all in One; so are they to work, and, by their free energies, to rise above dead matter, above even the vast universe, freely toward God. The universe feels Him as law; they too

feel him as law, but they also behold him as light, quicken with Him as life, adore Him as wisdom, and love Him as love. These are things which can emanate only from a will. Will holds man separate from God in being, while it may unite him with God in purpose; and fits him worthily to adore the great beneficent will. Believe this, and the universe expands into a vast choir, and its voice of souls chants all the themes of spiritual worship. It sings creation, providence, and redemption,—

"Love without end, and without measure grace."

Deny this, and the universe becomes one vast organ, with millions of stops and keys, on which he may play; the chord which he strikes will give its appointed tone, vibrating in its boundless stretch from end to end of the universe—but "there is no voice or speech" there—no worship. The universe becomes a deserted cathedral, whose wondrous proportions, and gorgeous magnificence, make more dread the loneliness of its one priest without worshipper.

The simple alternative is, freedom or Pantheism. Without freedom, sin and holiness become phantasms; the sublime mysteries of redemption sink into a solemn automatic movement; and man's worship or supplication means no more than the revolving of a Tartar prayer will. We must believe in the freedom of the human will; to this all humanity will add a solemn "amen, we believe," and despite of logic, add, with uplifted hands, "in God the Father Almighty" Lord of all things. Let men argue six thousand years more, of fate and free will, "in endless mazes lost; and then, as the pillars of Hercules overlook the strait by which the Mediterranean finds its outlet to the great ocean, so will these two great truths, man's freedom and God's sovereignty, bound man's course from this earth-hemmed life to eternity. What if we cannot reconcile these views? "There is no contradiction," to quote the author mentioned at the head of this article, "in regarding it as impossible to give a full and satisfactory solution of all the difficulties pertaining to this question, and yet to venture with hope and delight to tread in the path that stretches forward in endless prospect before us. The pleasure of speculation, and the happiness of

the inquirer, consists to a great degree in this, that as soon as one boundary is attained, immediately another, from the darkness of a still greater distance, emerges as it were, and invites us on to renewed exertions. We admit that this very peculiarity passes with us for an irrefragable proof of the indestructibility of the spirit of man; and in an especial manner do we feel that the present life, were it deprived of this reflection of the infinite, would be to us worthless and exceedingly insipid."

The will of man we hold to be, in its sphere, as free as the divine will. There is however, this difference: the human will can determine to do wrong, which is not possible to the divine will. Having shown that freedom is so essential to man, we are not at liberty to declare it other than a good. Yet it appears that only by the possession of this freedom, arises the possibility of evil; and we are met by the paradox of evil issuing from good.

Yet turn which way we will, unless we retreat entirely outside the lines of Christian doctrine, a conflict with this paradox is inevitable. We well know that the logical man can prove our position absurd, and that it lies open to all the shafts of the man of wit. Be it so; we are content to reiterate the fact, if our Theism be sound, somewhere evil issued out of good; and by the fact we are bound to abide. Meantime, all the cannonade of logic and shafts of wit can only make it "so much the worse for the facts." We do not indeed make freedom the ground of sin; but without it sin would be impossible. Indeed, as the act of the will seems the most intimately personal act of man, and as the point of willing is the point of sinning, or of obedience, we shall in many respects gain the most correct view of sin, and of holiness, from this stand-point of the will. Equally well does it serve us as a point from which to contemplate the themes of redemption and reconciliation.

Sin is a voluntary transgression of a good law. This definition covers of course any voluntary failure to keep the law; for a good law demands obedience, and a voluntary refusal to render it, is a voluntary transgression. Thus God's will as embodied in a righteous law comes in conflict with man's will.

The great question of human reconciliation and salva-

tion becomes then a question of will,—the will of God and the will of man. To a degree, they are now at dissonance, man's will not being conformed to God's, in many instances. We must however avoid saying that man's will always acts in opposition to God's will, for that is far from the truth. When they are brought into complete concord, then will man be saved, because from his godly or godlike will shall proceed godly works.

Some seem to teach that men are saved when their sins are forgiven, but this is an error. Ætna is not quenched when its eruption has ceased, and the latest track of lava is covered with green vineyards and smiling fields; the fire is smouldering in its vitals still. So, though all past sins may be forgiven, if the will to evil, which determined them, is still slumbering in the bosom, the man is not saved.

It follows also, that it is absurd to say that men are saved by good works; for the will is the engine which drives the whole train of works. If the train is going in the wrong direction, the evil is to be met by reversing the engine, and the cars will follow; yet while they follow, no one but a novice thinks them to be the cause of the new action. From what is man saved? From sin; and sin is evil work produced by evil will. It is nonsense to say that good works are the cause of man's being saved from evil works. It is like affirming that a man's seeing causes the removal of his blindness. He will see when the blindness is healed; he will be saved, when the evil will is changed,—on the clarified sight will come vision; from the righteous will shall proceed holiness and salvation.

Now the seat of sin being thus in the will of man, which determines for evil rather than good, even Omnipotence (be it spoken reverently,) cannot save him, as man, in any other way than by bringing that will to change. In this we perceive something of that force with which God has clothed this creature formed in his image. Omnipotence has formed this curious lock, and given man the key; that key alone can lock or unlock it. It is in the power of Him who made it, to crush it in pieces, or with force to drive back its bolts, destroying its mechanism; but only man can turn the key. The will must remain forever free. To force it to good, is to destroy it, and to make good no

good. To constrain it to evil, as in the present theory of eternal misery,—to condemn it to eternal hatred of God, is to destroy it and make evil no sin.

The philosophy of Christ's mission may also be placed in a strong and clear point of view, by collating it with these radical facts, that the evil is the discord of two wills, and the remedy is in bringing one into harmony with the other. We have seen the futility of attempting to make use of man's good works to do this; it is palpable that the attempt to accomplish it by any imputation of Christ's righteousness is equally vain. For man's will is in conflict with God's. If Christ died to make God tolerant of, or pleased with, man's perverse will, he died to break or annul every righteous law in the universe, to raze the walls of justice, and blot the pages of truth. Christ's death is effective only as it tends to open the way of divine love to the human will, or aid its work when it has found access there. Until that is changed, to "sprinkle o'er the burning throne, and change that wrath to grace," is only to moderate the force of God's aversion to sin—to mitigate the repulsion of his nature against wrong; in one word, to break his will; which, were it possible, would be a disaster of sad import even to those seemingly favored by it. It would be relaxing the law of gravitation to save a sinking ship, leaving the loosened waves to bubble over her in suffocating foam.

We are then brought to the consideration of another question. If the matter stand thus between the divine and human wills, how can God bring men into harmony with himself; and of what avail is his purpose to subdue all things unto himself? Let us recall to mind, here, that freedom of the will does by no means require that it should be insensible to motives. It is only requisite that no motive should have power to determine its decisions by fatal necessity. "Our views do not require us to affirm that man decides without a reason, simply in order to will." So close indeed is the general connection between the motions of desire, and the acts of the will, and between the decisions of reason, and the determinations of the will, that we found it a delicate task to separate them. In upholding the freedom of the will, we argue for no repulsive or savage independence, but for a noble freedom, in

which a righteous will shall agree with the purest desires, and the highest reason. The answer to the question now before us, brings us to unfold the central principle of all God's revelations to man. It is not as a being of infinite force, able to crush man into conformity, that He addresses himself to this purpose. To do this, would destroy him as man, and undo the work which he accomplished in his creation. He reveals himself in another form. It is by his love, that he addresses this alienated will, and draws it into harmony with his own. To unwind a perplexed cocoon of silk, the strength of a giant is not so useful as the pliant fingers, and gentle assiduity, of a girl. The giant could rend the frail web in a moment, but only gentle patience can preserve its integrity, and yet reduce it to complete order. Equally might Almighty power destroy man as a spider's web. Infinite love, and grace, and patience, alone can bring him entire into the eternal order; and the potency of these is consistent with our views of will. How exactly do these views accord with the mission of Christ, who accepts, as just, the beautiful delineation of the prophet: "He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory." Man under any degree of darkness is not wholly insensible to these divine influences. The more he yields to them, the more potent their influence upon him.

Let us attend to several additional considerations. Let us consider that sin, the highest evil, can only result from the abuse of the highest good, freedom, reason and light; and that the sense of this fact deepens every where man's sense of "the exceeding sinfulness of sin;" that where these do not exist sin cannot be, that where they do exist sin has always so many foes. Sin cannot then have an undivided empire. It cannot exclude its opposites and live; while, on the other hand, holiness can subsist without any opposite. In one word, sin is a state of conflict, and always implies the existence of its opposite, while holiness is a state of peace.

Let us consider that since evil sprang somehow from good, it is not self existent, but is a parasitical growth. It has no power on its side, but subsists by a perversion of

powers; else could no man be saved as an entire man, for to be saved would imply the destruction of that part of his radical nature which existed only for, or by, evil.

Let us consider, that moral evil sensibly produces in man a state of internal war; that man denominates that reason highest, and those desires best, which oppose it;—and that its results war against itself. Thus we find in human nature a perpetual reaction against it, even of the will, as Paul expresses in Rom. vii. 21; and this reactive principle is God's superscription on man, declaring His right in him.

Bringing all these considerations together, and collating them with the divine purpose, we cannot doubt that "Evil will be vanquished in manly conflict." Such is clearly the conclusion to which the author of the work mentioned at the head of this article arrives. It is a work which we can most heartily commend to all who wish for more light on this subject. It has the singular merit of profundity joined with precise and intelligible statements. The author has no will to becloud his subject with mysteries. His faith in the final issue is, we think, evident from such passages as the following:

"The highest end after which creation strives is the self-subsistent developing of moral natures. Evil should not be rendered impossible, but it should be vanquished in manly conflict. Constrained uniformity, and limitation of powers, cannot in the least be reconciled with the highest view of a divine governor; and in the circumstance that God imparts to the creature a freedom which can manifest itself in opposition to Him, as well as in harmony and love, seems to lie the evidence not only of the highest power, but also of the divine love and self denial. Yet the influence and importance which belong to the evil actually springing from this striving against God, are both finite and circumscribed. Good only, as participant of the divine nature, is indestructible and eternal." p. 163. Or again, "The conscious and personal being is only as it were raised to the state of individuality, in order that at the end he may, by the free self-subsistent direction of his own spirit, bring himself so to harmonize with the whole,—as, before creation in the peaceful depths of eternity, *all* powers were as but *One* power. Then will God be all and in all, when every crea-

ture, without ceasing to have an individual existence, shall yet find itself in willing accord and harmonious union with Him." p. 167.

Such a result can furnish the only worthy resolution of the problem, and justification of the facts, of divine sovereignty and of human freedom. The advocate of human freedom can ask no more than that man should be free as God himself is free; for, in the loftiest sense, only good can be free. The believer in divine sovereignty finds the conditions of that belief fulfilled in the perfect triumph of the divine will. The human and the divine are thus brought to reconciliation. E. F.

Art. VI.

Mosheim's Thoughts on the End of Hell Torments.

The Tract which I here communicate in an English dress, is on many accounts well worthy of consideration. It is relatively an old defence of the popular doctrine of endless punishment. It originally appeared in 1725, or a little more than a century and a quarter ago; and it is interesting to see how this subject was regarded and reasoned upon at that time. It is from the pen of one of the most learned and popular theologians of Germany. With the name of John Lawrence Mosheim, the religious world is familiar. It was written at a time when a very active controversy was going on in Germany between the advocates of endless torments and universal salvation. And it seems to have been supposed that such a tract as this, from a man so eminent as Mosheim, would do much towards settling the controversy, and re-establishing the public faith in the dogma of endless hell punishments. But this expectation was doomed to disappointment. So far from ending the controversy, it only served to excite it more keenly. It called forth replies and examinations, which demanded renewed attention from both Mosheim

himself and his theological friends. But of this I propose to speak farther on.

This Tract appeared, as I have said, in 1725. It was published as an appendix to the first part of Mosheim's Sermons,[1] and was alluded to in the preface in the following terms:

"The subjoined thoughts on the doctrine of those who set a limit to the punishments of hell, have been required at my hand. Others have written more largely and more learnedly on this subject, and I can therefore very well bear it if some happen to think that my labor here was unnecessary. The innocent haste of some of my friends, who wished to have it published without my knowledge, and with some faults about it, induced me, when I became acquainted with their intention, to promise them that I would myself give it corrected to the press. This promise I now fulfil. And what is there blameworthy in this? Had I not kept my promise, should I not have sinned quite as much as I do now in performing it? Besides, it is better to give the world a few sheets too much than too little on subjects of this nature. And the more influence this doctrine has upon certain truths of our faith, the more frequently have we cause to establish the proofs of them. People are accustomed to appeal constantly in this matter to reason; and it seems to many of the most deserving persons as if the cause of those who advocate the eternity of punishment, would be well nigh lost, if one were to rest on this alone. Without condemning those who differ from me, I think quite otherwise. It seems to me that reason, if not more, is quite as much in favor of those who maintain the eternity of the divine vengeance, as of those who insist that it will come to an end. Men often consider the opinions of those who are held in great reputation, as clear expressions of reason. Often, too, do they measure the divine justice by the practice of human tribunals.

The acutest article that has been written in favor of the end of hell punishments, is that of an otherwise learned

[1] Johann Lorentz Mosheim's, Abtens von Marienthal, &c., &c. *Heilige Reden*, ueber wichtige Wahrheiten der Lehre Jesu Christi. I have before me the fifth edition of the first part, published only nine years after its first appearance.

man, who is, however, to be charged with having fallen, before his death, into the mischievous error of the Socinians.[2] I have read this piece in no superficial manner, and would bear the author testimony to a not badly constituted mind. But if we throw out a few ambiguities, and deny the force of a conclusion from human to divine things, the so-called demonstration becomes a phantom in which we seek in vain for just logical dependence.

I have been long intending to present in Latin the history of this doctrine, and to exhibit not only the sources of it, but also to investigate the various forms of it, and give its true color and weight. A multiplicity of other labors, which in part are not unknown, has hitherto prevented me from accomplishing this object. Perhaps a few hours may soon be found in which I can bring into order the collection of thoughts and testimonies on the subject, and give them to the world."

The history here proposed never, as I am aware, came to light, nor do I imagine that the world has great reason to regret it. The "testimonies," which the vast reading of Mosheim might have furnished, would no doubt have been valuable; the "thoughts," I suspect, would have added little to the stock of general knowledge on the subject. But I will detain the reader no longer, and hasten to lay before him Mosheim's "Thoughts on the Doctrine of the End of Hell Punishments:"

"There is nothing in the Scriptures which can lead men to the opinion that the punishments of the damned will not be endless. All the sources of this error must be sought in the depravity and weakness of men. Those who have little disposition to direct their walk by the law of God, find a kind of comfort in this conceit, when the thought of eternity presses itself upon them and disturbs

[2] Ernesti Soneri Demonstratio Theologica et Philosophica, quod aeterna impiorum supplicia, non arguant Dei justitiam, sed injustitiam. (i. e., A theological and philosophical demonstration that the eternal punishments of the wicked do not argue the justice but the injustice of God.) The world-renowned Leibnitz proposed a republication of this little work, which is now very scarce. I have a copy of it before me, with the preface which he proposed to publish to it. Another place will give me occasion to mention this again, when I shall commend the goodness of one whom I have to thank for this and other matters connected with this subject.

their peace. One sins far more quietly when he has persuaded himself that the punishment of sin will at some future time come to an end. People sometimes come to believe without any reason what they wish to be true. And hence the sinner oftentimes holds just as fast to this opinion as he does to his sins. There are others whom a fault of the understanding brings to embrace this doctrine. There is nothing more common than for men to judge of God according to what they regard as just, good, and praiseworthy in the world. Among mortals it would be considered as something terrible, were one to punish a small transgression with never-ending torments. Every one would shun the government of a prince who should deal with his subjects in this manner, and the least that could be said of him would be that he was a tyrant. These earthly thoughts we unwarily transfer to God. We forget that the difference between God and men is infinite. We forget that the sins which one commits against the peace of society, are of a very different kind from those he perpetrates against the law of God. We forget, too, who we are, and that a finite understanding must of necessity judge badly, when it judges of the attributes and perfections of a being, who is by his very nature absolutely infinite.

Men may be betrayed into this opinion, also, by a natural compassion. Our thoughts and convictions are formed in many respects according to the natural temper of our bodies and souls. Those who are constitutionally hard and severe, easily conceive of God as a Judge, and forget his love. Others, on the contrary, who possess great tenderness of heart and much sympathy, incline to the other side, and think of God only as a Father, and forget his justice. These last can never reconcile the eternity of punishments with their natural compassion, and hence without difficulty conclude that it is not true.

Thus the reverence which we ordinarily cherish for some great and learned men, confirms some in this error, and makes faith in it much easier. It is not to be denied that some, whose fame has endured through successive generations, have held this doctrine for a truth. How easily do we forget what the Scriptures are so careful to mention, that 'great men are not always wise,' and espe-

cially when we find in their opinions what is otherwise agreeable to us. Satan sowed tares in the field of the primitive church. Some of those, who were then pillars in the community of Jesus Christ, judged mildly of the state of the damned. The renown which they left behind them blinds us even now, and we conclude, before we are aware, that since this was the opinion of one of the most eminent teachers, therefore it is true. We say, Thus taught a man whose merits in the church are immortal, therefore I may safely believe it.

It is no wonder that those affected by these weaknesses, should imagine when they come to the Scriptures that they find something in them which supports their doctrine. And when they do not meet with clear and express passages to their purpose, they ordinarily resort to dark and difficult ones. It is easy, in passages that are somewhat obscure, to discover what may strengthen a judgment already adopted. The power of imagination assists the industry and application one employs, and presently he comes to regard mere conjectures and fancies as divine truths. When one has gone thus far, he begins to pervert and apply chance texts to his purpose. Time renders him obstinate; self-love does not allow him to recognize his own faults; and thus he struggles on without seeing that he is in a manner putting weapons into the hands of unbelievers, and throwing all the certainties of the Bible into doubt. How perverse we mortals are! God has given us his word to help our weaknesses. Hence if we would be prudent, we should thus think: This or that must be true, whatever my wretched understanding may say to the contrary, because God has revealed it. But men reverse this. They first consider the doctrines of faith with their understanding, and then for the first time trouble themselves about the Scriptures. They draw this utterly incongruous conclusion: This or that doctrine seems to me to be hard and difficult; hence it cannot be found in the Bible. Hence, too, they strive to give all the texts, where they imagine it is met with, a new and perverted interpretation. What more? Men are so unreasonable, that when they desire to maintain their opinions, they begin with such passages of Scripture as are obscure and difficult. Reason and common-sense

teach us that when we would ascertain the true meaning of a book, we should begin with those passages that are clear and easy, and afterwards consider, in the light of these, the sense of such as are dark and more difficult. And yet people do just the contrary. They first consider those places that no one comprehends, and if they think these contain something agreeable to them, they begin to pervert other passages, which are clear and easy, so as to correspond with them. Who that is only partially acquainted with those who deny the eternity of punishment, is not convinced that this is the common method with them? They have, in the first place, asked themselves, Can I believe the eternity of punishment or not? Is there anything in my nature and reason that conflicts with this opinion or not? They have discovered that they have a kind of inward feeling or sentiment which contradicts this doctrine. Hence they conclude that it is not to be found in the Scriptures. They say: I cannot believe that this doctrine is true; therefore it cannot stand in the Bible. Hence they have hunted up one passage after another, that is unintelligible or indistinct, and on these have predicated their doctrine. Finally they have become so bold as to explain the clear parts of the Bible wholly in accordance with these dark ones. There is no truth of revelation so plain that one may not in this way contest it. Our charity is not sufficient to believe that those who cherish this doctrine do not see the evil consequences that necessarily flow from it. Far be it from us, if their faith be otherwise honest and right toward God, to condemn them on account of this one fault. Who are we to judge another man's servants? To their own master they stand or fall. Still we wish they would be somewhat more cautious in the promulgation of a doctrine which is not only groundless, but also leads in its train many dangers.

I will endeavor to show *first*, that this opinion is at war with express passages of scripture; and *second*, that for many important reasons it cannot be true.

I. *The Scriptures teach expressly that the punishment of the damned will be endless.* It almost seems as if the wisdom of God foresaw that there would be people to whom this doctrine would be offensive. Hence he has employed all possible means to defeat this temerity. The Scriptures speak,

1. In just the same words of the endless punishments of hell, as they do of the endless rewards of heaven. That is false which some allege, that the Spirit of God speaks in one manner of heaven and another of hell. There is one word by which the eternity of both is happily expressed in very many places. John the Baptist says of Christ, 'He will burn up the chaff,' i. e., the ungodly, 'with unquenchable fire.'—Matt. 3: 12. Jesus himself speaks in many passages in the same manner:—'It is better to enter into life halt and maimed, rather than, having two hands or two feet, to be cast into everlasting fire.'—Matt. 18: 8. 'The wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.' —Matt. 25: 46. The apostles of Christ adopted the same mode of speech. Paul says, 'They shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power.'—2 Thess. 1: 9. So Jude teaches that the angels who kept not their first estate shall 'be reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.'—Verse 6; and that certain men 'are wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever.'—Verse 13.

Had the spirit of God wished to teach us that the eternity of punishment is different from that of happiness, can any one imagine that it would have used the very same word to express these two things? Were men to speak in such a manner that the same words should be applied to things between which there is so great a difference, would not people say that they could not understand them? They who should ordinarily speak in this way, would not deserve the name of honest men. And were a prince to speak thus in his laws, could his subjects understand him? Shall we, then, believe this of the spirit of God? Is it possible to persuade ourselves not only that John, but even Jesus himself, and not only Jesus, but also all his apostles, would have so agreed in the use of words, and in no single instance have employed other forms of speech, had they wished to teach us to think of these punishments in one way and of these rewards in another? Was the Greek language so poor that it afforded them only one word for this purpose? But farther:

2. The Holy Scriptures speak in far more expressive terms of the eternity of punishments than they do of the eternity of happiness. When they speak of the eternity of happiness they employ no terms of great emphasis. They say in simple words, 'The righteous shall go into life eternal.' The Lord knew that none of us would doubt on this subject. But when he speaks of the torments of the damned, he expresses their eternity in terms of much greater force. God well knew that there would be men to whom this doctrine would be distasteful. Our Lord therefore says of the damned three times in one passage, 'Their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched.' Does any one need clearer language than this? Must not that be endless which is never quenched and never dies? So St. John says, 'The smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever.' Again he says, 'They shall be tormented night and day forever and ever.' If this is not clear enough, will people tell us how God should have spoken? I will say all in a few words. One who has a mind to justify errors, and will be more subtle than others, may maintain with some appearance of truth, that the joys of the elect will not endure forever; for here the Scriptures speak without any special emphasis. But against the opinion of those who deny the eternity of hell punishments, has the spirit of God, so to speak, defended itself altogether too strongly.

II. Besides these express passages of Scripture, there are other reasons which are at war with this error.

1. It is opposed to the perfections of God. God is the most perfect being whom it is possible for us to conceive. Here revelation and reason are agreed. A God who should be imperfect, would be no God. But in him who is the most perfect, there can be no inequality of attributes. Let one imagine two men, of one of whom it is said: He is uncommonly modest and moral, but his patience is not as great as his modesty; and of the other that his modesty and patience are equally great; and would he not regard the latter as the more perfect man? If it be said, This man is intelligent and wise, but his humility is less than his understanding, would he be praised or blamed? Or let us conceive of two princes, one of whom enjoys the glory of exercising as much grace toward the good as he

does justice toward the evil; but of the other that his grace is greater than his justice; should we not prefer the first to the last? It is equally so in all moral qualities. Where the virtues or beauties are not equally great, where all parts are not similar to each other, according to their kind, *there* there can be no absolute perfection. Of course God, who is perfection itself, and in whom it is impossible that there should be any inequality, has no one virtue or attribute greater than another. But those who deny the eternity of hell punishments, must of necessity say that one attribute in God is greater than another. They maintain that God is infinitely merciful, insomuch that he rewards trifles and the meanest service with eternal felicity. And yet, at the same time, they teach that the holiness and justice of God are not so great as his goodness, because he will cease to punish the sinner. Is not this to say that God is not the most perfect being, or is there not an inequality in the attributes of God?

But God is infinite, and hence all his attributes are infinite. Yet what can be more obvious than that those who entertain the opinion against which I speak, set limits to one of the most important of the divine perfections, namely of his justice. The punishments of hell will cease, say they; that is, the justice of God will come to an end! Therefore his justice is not so great nor so enduring as his grace.

2. It is impossible to maintain that the happiness of the saints will be endless, if we do not hold fast at the same time to the doctrine that there will be no end to the punishments of the damned. Every one will concede that it is almost as unreasonable and as unjust to reward the smallest service with an infinite reward, as it is to punish the smallest faults with an infinite punishment. Let us imagine two princes: one of them honors the prudence of a beggar, who stands out of his way a little, with the highest place of rank in his power; the other punishes a wretched creature with death because he does not lift his hat to him as he passes. Is it not true, that we should say of them both that they acted unreasonably and unjustly? Perhaps we should sooner overlook the conduct of the first than the last. But still we should censure them both for their injustice and folly. It would be well

for those to consider this, who allow eternal rewards and deny eternal punishments. What are all our miserable efforts in this world? What is all our service? What are our good works? Are we not unprofitable servants, when we do all that is commanded us? And still we easily believe, that God, without injury to his justice, can reward these poor services with infinite blessings. But when we consider our evil actions, which are greater than our good ones, especially if we reflect upon the grace of God which is tendered us, we find it difficult to persuade ourselves that he will punish them with endless punishments. How strangely do we mortals reason! If we cannot allow the eternity of punishments, let us also deny the eternity of rewards. On the contrary, if it is just, and we find nothing unreasonable in God's rewarding our poor works with endless blessings, so we must concede, if we will be rational, that he must punish our greater sins with infinite punishments according to his justice. As often as I conceive of God and of his greatness, I am admonished of my own weakness. The consideration of my Creator reminds me in the first place that I am only a miserable man. Then my understanding apprehends the fact that God must punish my sins endlessly fas well as reward my imperfect good works endlessly. If I consider my sins, I find that my evil is great, and God's grace infinite. God calls to me daily, but I remain deaf. God has given his Son for me, but this infinite love does not move me. Jesus died for me, but I follow him not. God has sent me his word, and yet I obey not. God exhorts me, but I continue sluggish. How great is the love of God, how great is my wickedness. This leads me to see that if I do not accept the mercy of God, it is right in him to punish such a fearful contempt of his infinite grace with endless torments. When, on the other hand, I consider my holiness, great God! how little of right-doing do I find. How many sins of infirmity; how many wrong thoughts in the holiest actions; how weak my love; how little my fear of God! And what is more, whatever of good there is in me, is all of God. My evil is my own; my holiness is from God. And were it not that the love of God has so plainly assured me in his word, that I shall live forever, I could hardly persuade

myself that such despicable services as mine would be rewarded with endless blessedness. O, that we who wander here below, might consider this! A deceitful pride that clings to our corrupted nature, makes us imagine our goodness great and our wickedness small. Hence it happens that we more easily believe that we shall be endlessly rewarded than endlessly punished.

3. The salvation of Jesus Christ furnishes a new reason to confirm the eternity of punishment. If we inquire why Christ came into the world, why he suffered, and why he died? the answer which the Scriptures return is, The infinite justice of God could in no other way have been satisfied. An infinitely offended God must be reconciled by an infinite sacrifice. If it is asked farther, whether there was no other means of reconciling God, the Saviour himself answers, No: 'Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory?'—Luke xxiv. 26. But this doctrine is completely overthrown by those who deny that the torments of the damned will be endless. It is obvious that they who are cast into hell, have no part in the salvation of Jesus Christ, and so must be considered as lying under the curse, which he would by his death have taken away. If we say that Christ died for all, we only say that all men could be saved through Christ, if they would. The merit of Jesus, and the mercy of God, are extended to all men, to all the inhabitants of the earth, while they live here. Now if it is true that the damned cannot confide in the salvation of Jesus, and if it be also certain that they will not be tormented without end, then it obviously follows, 1. That the justice of God cannot need an infinite ransom. For according to this principle, the justice of God can be satisfied with a finite punishment. And when the time of their torment comes to an end, then the damned as well as the saved will enter into the joy of their Lord. 2. That it was by no means necessary for Christ to come into the world to save men. For according to this opinion, the torment which every man must endure for a time after he has sinned, would have freed him from the wrath of God just as well as the atonement of Christ. 3. That the sufferings of Jesus were not infinite. For if it were true that the torment of the damned has an end, then an infinite suffering was

not necessary to free them from it. How any one can reconcile these things, I do not understand. Were I to concede an end to the punishment of the damned, I should immediately begin to doubt the satisfaction and salvation of Jesus Christ, which are the only ground of our hopes and happiness. But if I believe that hell endures without end, then I recognize the necessity of the salvation by Jesus Christ, and at the same time give equal weight to the justice and the mercy of God.

Perhaps some one will say: It is on account of the infinite redemption of Jesus Christ, that God accepts the finite punishment of the damned, as a sufficient satisfaction. If Jesus had not died, the punishment would have been endless, but now that he has died, a limited punishment is enough. To this I might render several replies, but I will make but one. Either the damned in hell exercise faith, or else the merit of Christ, without faith in him, is the means of their salvation. But no one will ever assert the first; for, 'he that believeth shall be saved.' The last contradicts the whole Bible, and would open the way to heaven for all the godless, heathen, Jews and Turks. How well would it be to adhere to the simplicity of faith!

4. Consider the state of the damned as we will, so long as they are in hell, this doctrine can have no force in it. Either the godless sin in hell, or their punishment reforms and purifies them, till they become fit to enter into heaven. Choose which you will. If you say, they sin while they are in hell, I do not see how their punishment can come to an end. For so long as one continues in disobedience, so long also will the punishment of disobedience continue. But the majority of the friends of this doctrine choose the latter alternative. They say that the punishments of hell are to be considered as purifying. It is this fire which takes away the impurity that prevents the ungodly from being happy. When should I have done, were I to give all the answers in my power to this view? But I will content myself with one reply. If the punishment of the wicked is a correction, a purification, then it is no punishment, but a medicine. Does any one call that a punishment, when a disagreeable medicine is prescribed by which he is to free himself from a painful disease? Would the

evil doer be punished, if the magistrate should, by means of a hot iron, cure his tooth-ache, or by opening his skull remove the headache? According to this, there is no punishment of hell, and in God is there no justice whatever. Can we call that the operation of wrath or justice, by which God only frees men from their miseries? I should call it love. I think he would deem himself deserving well, who should cure a lame man unable to walk in a splendid garden, although the cure was effected by a painful process. In a similar manner would the condition of the damned become daily more and more tolerable. The more they were relieved of their impurity, the lighter, better and more tolerable would their condition daily become. Yea, and what is still more absurd, they would begin to love God in hell! I say nothing here how I can not understand why so long a process of purification is necessary. Is not God powerful enough to accomplish it in a moment? Or is something more than a word from the Almighty necessary to this work?

After having sufficiently proved a truth, it is not necessary to take much trouble in considering objections. I think little can be said in reply to what has here been offered, and hence I may well pass objections in silence. A few conceits of weak man, are of no force against a clearly proved and revealed truth. Meanwhile I will give to the friends of this doctrine, two things to reflect upon, by means of which one can easily refute all objections.

The first is this: We are men. Our understanding does not reach far. But God's attributes and perfections are infinite. Hence it follows that we can not comprehend them. What then are we doing, fools that we are, when we judge of these attributes aside from the Scriptures. What are we doing when we say so freely: This is contrary to the goodness or the justice of God. Let us wait till eternity gives us more light, and remember meanwhile that we are but dust.

The second consideration is: That the punishments of hell, although they have no end, will still not be equally severe upon all, but more tolerable upon one and less so upon another. Jesus has clearly revealed this truth to us. Luke xii: 48. Matt. xi: 24, 25. The justice of God also

demands it. All do not sin alike, and hence all will not be punished alike. These two considerations will prepare us to answer every thing else. How happy should we be, if we took more pains to escape hell, and less to fathom its nature and condition!"

Thus ends this famous Tract. Of its merits men will judge differently, at the present day, as they did a century and a quarter ago. It is a plausible, well written article in defence of a very bad cause. The Scripture argument here introduced with so much confidence is the same that has been repeated again and again since the time of Augustine. The words "everlasting" and "eternal" are applied to punishment, and therefore punishment is absolutely endless! This constitutes the bone and sinew of the whole argument. Our learned author indulges in no criticism on these words, and introduces no considerations to show that when applied to punishment they necessarily bear the sense in which he employs them. All this is generously assumed, and the conclusion drawn as from the best established premises. In this field of argument the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and several other little absurdities, would be triumphant. Every one at all conversant with the Bible, is well aware that the words "everlasting" and "eternal" are applied to a great variety of subjects, and express periods as different as very brief times and eternity itself. It is not a little remarkable that the advocates of endless punishment have not discovered that the words here referred to, are used in the Old Testament in relation to punishments obviously temporal, as frequently as they are in the New, in reference to what they allege to be endless.

The other considerations upon which Mosheim dwells may have had great weight at the time this tract appeared, but I flatter myself will be looked upon with less favor at the present day. They are sheer subtleties and hair-splittings, which we should hardly expect from so eminent a man as our author. What shall we think of such propositions as these: 'If punishment is not endless, then the divine justice is not equal to the divine benevolence or mercy. If the punishment of the wicked is not endless, then the happiness of the righteous cannot be so. The

reward of our imperfect services is, endless felicity, therefore the punishment of our sins must be endless torment'?

It is gratifying to see that Mosheim was not altogether insensible to the abhorrent character of the doctrine he labored to defend. He clearly perceived that any human ruler who should act on such principles as this doctrine ascribes to God, would be justly regarded as a tyrant, whose government all men would instinctively shun. He therefore denied all consequence to reasonings from human affairs to the divine, and recognized something in the simple fact that God is infinite, that throws him entirely beyond the reach of our faculties, and leaves us, if we will consider it, without the power of judging of his attributes and perfections at all. If infinite justice and goodness be something so unlike what we call justice or goodness among men, that we can form no just conception of what they require or will do, then there is an end to all our religious knowledge, and no man can say whether God be a being of infinite love, or a monster of cruelty and hate.

It will be observed that our learned author found a variety of reasons why men rejected the doctrine of endless torment and believed in the final salvation of all. The principal of these turned upon the weakness or depravity of man, that is, upon the simple fact that they were either fools or knaves. Others were somewhat more flattering. He thought God had made some men with so much sympathy and compassion, that they could not believe in infinite punishment; but then to counterbalance this, he had made others so hard and brutal that they could believe nothing else.

But I did not design to offer any extended remarks on the tract before us, and I will therefore close with a very brief sketch of the controversy to which it gave rise.

Whether Petersen's Alethea Victrix, which was published in 1726, contained any allusion to Mosheim's tract I am unable to say. But it seems that he wrote two works in reply to it, or that embraced some criticisms upon it, for in 1727 Mosheim says "Petersen's two works, which he has written in opposition to me, may lie in Hamburg or finally be published. I shall regard them as if they had never been prepared. If he has so much confidence

in the correctness of his opinion, what is the use of sending book after book upon it into the world?" It is singular that Mosheim did see that this sharp reflection would apply with equal force to himself and his friends, as to his opposers.

But another work presently appeared in which the tract before us seems to have been reviewed. This was, "A fundamental exposition of the eternal love of God in Christ towards all fallen creatures; or an express proof that the doctrine of the restitution of all things is incontestibly founded in nature and revelation, and is an ancient apostolic doctrine, and no opinion misleading to security. By Christian Pagenkop. Freystadt, 1726." 8 vo. Of this work and its author I have no definite knowledge. Mosheim calls Pagenkop "a friend of the well known Dippel," and deemed his work worthy of an extended notice, but not in the form of either review or reply, but in a long letter to his friend Goenner, which appeared as an appendix to the second part of his sermons. What particularly stung Mosheim was a remark of Pagenkop implying that it would be well for the learned advocate of endless misery to examine himself a little more in the light of the gospel, to practise himself in the way of self-denial and of the cross, and to offer up his own life to Christ in simple obedience of faith. "That is to say," replies Mosheim, "that the author of the thoughts on hell punishments is an unconverted and an unenlightened man. He knows nothing of the power of God, and has not been born again. The proof of this is, that he does not believe in the restoration." It is refreshing to see how tender of his own Christian character Mosheim is, while he denies to almost the whole race of Universalists either common sense or common honesty. But Mosheim is not alone in this. Every advocate of endless torments seems to regard faith in that purifying doctrine as conclusive proof of his piety and orthodoxy, and while it should completely shield him from every unfavorable insinuation, it gives him full warrant to assail the character of every man that does not chance to possess so cardinal a virtue, so distinguishing a grace. Mosheim's letter to Goenner is bitter and abusive, and yet he boasts throughout of his mildness and charity. The world has been largely blessed with such mercies.

But the year 1727 brought forth another examination of Mosheim's tract, or rather the work seems to have contained a notice of it. This was Ludwig Gerhard's "Systema αποκαταστασεως: that is, a complete system of the everlasting gospel of the restoration of all things; together with the unfounded opposite doctrine of endless damnation; with an appendix consisting of a Christmas sermon, on the spiritual birth of Christ within us, preached in St. James' Church at Rostock," etc., etc. Gerhard seems to have been a Professor of Theology in the University of Rostock. He was a man of learning and talents, but exposed himself to the censure of the Theological Faculty there, by advancing sentiments in that Christmas sermon in 1718, which were regarded as heretical. Walch says that he introduced the principles of the fanatics on the subject of Christ within us. He also gave great offence subsequently, by dividing the orthodox into two classes, "the orthodox in the vulgar, and the orthodox in a more excellent sense."

Of Gerhard's work, which may be regarded as an important contribution to the doctrine of the final salvation of all men, Mosheim took particular notice in a special preface to the second edition of the second part of his sermons which appeared in the autumn of 1727. But he was more vigorously attacked on other sides. His work excited a good deal of attention. Walch in his "Introduction to the religious controversies in the Lutheran Church," mentions no less than fourteen volumes which it called forth in a short time.

In 1729, George Klein-Nicolai, better known to us as George Paul Seigvolck, published a volume entitled, "Solid but modest Thoughts on Mosheim's unfounded Thoughts on the eternity of hell-punishments." It took up not only the tract before us, but also Mosheim's letter to Goenner, and grouping his positions together, under various distinct heads, replied to them at large. Klein-Nicolai's style is unfortunately clumsy and often obscure, but his views are generally sound and clear. As a logician he is far superior to his graceful opponent, and in the domain of Scripture there seems to me to be no comparison between them. As a scholar, too, if we may fairly judge of the men by these portions of their labors, Klein-

Nicolai stands above Mosheim. On this subject he at least has great advantage. He was familiar with it, while Mosheim's views of it are superficial, and unsatisfactory.

In his preface to the third part of his Sermons, which appeared in 1731, Mosheim takes notice of this work of Klein-Nicolai, but declines more than offering some unimportant observations upon his style, temper and the like. Indeed throughout this controversy, our learned author seems unwilling to descend into the arena and grapple manfully with what he deemed error.

From 1731 to 1747 we hear nothing more of Mosheim's Thoughts on Hell Punishments; but during the latter year there appeared a work which renewed for a time the controversy. This was J. G. Schlitte's "Scriptural and rational Consideration of the proof both for and against the final happiness of the transgressors of God's law, and their ultimate restoration and re-establishment in holiness; occasioned by Mosheim's thoughts on endless hell-punishments, and set forth with all modesty out of love for the truth and the deepest reverence for the infinite merit of Christ. Frankfort and Leipsig, 1747." 8vo. 272 pp. In a short time this modest work had called out four or five replies, so that not only Mosheim, but the doctrine of endless torments, were valiantly defended. And we are told in the Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica, that Mosheim himself promised, in the fourth part of his Moral Philosophy, to give his attention to his new opposer. But this I suspect was no more than a notice which appeared probably in the preface of some new edition of his sermons. So much indeed is indicated by Theiss, who says that Mosheim defended himself in the second volume of his sermons; yet possibly he here refers to no more than the above-named letter to Goenner.

I will only add that the period I have here mentioned, is very rich in the fruits of an earnest controversy between the advocates of endless torments on the one side and those of universal salvation on the other. With a very imperfect knowledge of what was passing then, I am acquainted with no less than thirty works on this subject, which appeared between 1725 and 1730. The works which appeared in Germany in this controversy during the first half of the 18th century, would alone make a respectable library. T. J. S.

Art. VII.

God, the Answerer of Prayer.

We think that no reader of the Scripture, will feel the slightest hesitation to admit, that very numerous, and plain, and pressing, are the passages in which it urges us to pray to God, and in which it assures us that he will promptly and actually answer us. We therefore cite but two of them, as instances of what we mean; two so clear and pointed, that all explanation of them were superfluous, and all attempt to dissipate their force by rationalistic interpretation, ridiculous. The first, is that in Matt. vii. 7, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; for every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened." And the other, is in 1 John iii. 22, "And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments," &c. And adding to these, the assertion in the 14th verse of the succeeding chapter of the same apostle, "And this is the confidence we have in him, that, if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us," we think we have given a fair and sufficient sample of the teaching of Scripture on the topic indicated by our title. We say, a fair and sufficient sample, for we presume that no candid person will regard it as a specimen of arbitrary quotation, for the purpose of obtaining a mere textual show of sanction to our statement, but that all who read the New-Testament, with an implicit faith in its authority, as absolute in matters of religious doctrine, will admit our collocation to be one in true and harmonious keeping with the tenor of Scripture, and therefore, as of course decisive of the question it involves. That question is, May we go to God in prayer with entire confidence that he will hear and answer us, if we seek him in a proper spirit, and solicit him for benefits suitable to our wants? God's word certainly teaches us, that we may.

And yet, against this clear and distinct assurance of Revelation, there lurks in the minds of many Christian

men, an impression which seems to us subversive of all faithful and hearty prayer, a persuasion that this holiest of all spiritual offices is designed mainly, if not merely, to charm the soul of the suppliant into a temper of thankfulness and piety, to lift it into a state of religious exaltation, to rule it into a tone of submission to the divine will; that in short, the true, perhaps the only results we are warranted to expect from it, are to be found in the better frame of mind, the tranquil and trusting disposition it excites, and leaves behind it. We are aware that this is an opinion entertained by many, for we have heard it, we regret to say, from the lips even of clergymen of our own communion, and we suspect that with many more, who do not hold it as a distinctly recognized opinion, it yet operates as a latent impression, to check the full flow of petition, to dissipate in vague and general aspirations the point and speciality which lend to Christian prayer all its force and vitality, to diminish their confidence in God's ability and willingness to grant every request "for things agreeable to his will"—as the shorter catechism has it—and to efface all the distinctive characteristics which separate prayer from meditation. Are then the results which we are encouraged to expect from prayer, only such effects upon our hearts and tempers as the exercise itself was suited to induce? Must we really look for no more direct response to our requests, than such as we work out for ourselves in the very act of beseeching? Is it then, not God, the hearer and the answerer, but we ourselves, who realize the ends and objects of our supplications? If so, then let us henceforward abjure the hypocritical invocation of his name in our solicitations, and substitute our own. Let us pray to ourselves, and so impart to our ungodly mummery an appearance of consistency at least.

But if the above explication be the true rationale of prayer, why do we intercede for the absent, for friends in distant distress or peril, for the brother on the sick bed, in secret quest for our children and the members of our households, yea for foes, and for all mankind? How absurd and preposterous the imploring cries for the gallant fellows before Sevastopol, which, at the moment at which we write, are rushing up in tumultuous importunity from hut and hall in the mother land, to a shut heaven,

and a deaf and obdurate God! For kings and all in authority, for all men, St. Paul admonishes that we plead with "God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved." "I will *therefore*," he adds, "that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without doubting. That God is willing to hear such supplications, and that he holds himself ready to reply to them, is manifestly the lesson the apostle here enforces. And do such petitions, after all, fall upon the ear of a heedless deity? Or is their scope and purport compassed in the tranquillity in which they lull and leave the suppliant?

The truth is, the opinion we oppugn is but an offshoot of the skeptical objection to all prayer. As that objection is a plausible one, and one apt to perplex minds unaccustomed to think patiently on religious topics, let us state and answer it. "Is not the whole system of the divine government, in its smallest details, equally as in its most comprehensive movements, settled long ago, solidly, and immovably; is not the moral, as well as the physical dominion of God, subordinated to sure and steadfast laws, and do you hope—you, a mere unit in the multitudinous procession of his creatures, your place assigned, your path of march prescribed unalterably,—to disturb that arrangement by your interrupting prayers? Do you not see that the displacement of a single link would disorder the universal machinery; that the interposition of the divine aid you demand, must necessarily derange the whole jointed fabric?"

Such is, we think, a fair statement of the apparent difficulty; and we are confident it is only an apparent one, and that it involves its own answer and defeat.

For admitting, as fully as it demands, an assent to its postulate, that the whole system of creation and providence is a result of the Maker's pre-arrangement, no less in its minutest particulars, than in its general constitution, is it not obvious, that among those particulars the prayers of men are included, and have their place appointed, and their effects assigned them? Here lies the oversight of the skeptical argument. In its survey of the Almighty plan, by which, rightly enough, it contends that the destinies of the world are ordered, it omits one large class of forces, as really and effectively operative upon the movements of the whole, as any of the other million agencies

by which the divine purpose is carried forward to its goal. To prove that prayer *is* such a force, it is not at all necessary that we first attempt to correct the low estimate in which our opponent may choose to hold it. He may presume, if he choose, that it is only so much idle breath expired upon the heedless air. It is an existent actuality nevertheless; this he cannot deny. It is as real as any of those thoughts and ideas which shape the conduct of men, and are the sources of their fates and fortunes. And as such, as a positive reality, a veritable fact, according to the argument which would fain explode it, it has its place appointed, and its consequences allotted it in that grand design, which comprises, in its omniscient scope, and its combinations of perfect adjustment, every event and occurrence, every purpose and emotion, transpiring throughout the universe. The skeptical argument then, designed to shake our faith in the power of prayer, when carefully examined, and tested by its own essential principle, only serves to confirm our confidence in God as the hearer and answerer of prayer.

During the lapse of the past hour, and of every hour, which, since the world's birth, has floated over its bosom into the depths of the past eternity, myriads of supplications from all parts of his universe have been pouring into the open ear of the great Father of Life; and is it to be supposed, that he, whose prescient wisdom in the beginning adjusted all causes to their appropriate consequences, all means to their exact and adequate ends, overlooked and omitted from among the efficient agencies by which the destinies of his children were to be controlled, those functions and exercises in which their deepest wants find utterance, through which alone they can maintain and cherish their dependence upon him, and by which, touched with a sense of kindred interest and weakness, they feel themselves all linked together in sympathetic union to the throne of the compassionate heavenly Father?

I think we may very confidently conclude, that in the construction of the mighty plan from which he eliminated his perfect creation, he, who knoweth the end from the beginning, did not neglect, but carefully comprehended among the casual powers of his government, the petitions of his human creatures; apportioned to every sincere en-

treaty its special acknowledgement and boon; stands ever ready, without jar to a single process of his administration, to come to us when we call; and is far less cumbered to bestow and bless, than we, his tardy suppliants are, to seek his presence, and implore his help.

Let us now return, ere we quit this branch of our subject, to a consideration of the difficulty which challenged us when we started. It is, as every one must perceive, only a decorous modification of the skeptical objection we have just discussed, but when it assumes a Christian garb it perhaps requires a separate treatment.

"Is not the deity an unchangeable being? Does not St. James assure us that he is without variableness, or the shadow of turning? And do you flatter yourself by your importunities to allure him from his steadfast throne, to alter and re-arrange the lines of your lot? Do you expect Him, the unalterable, to vibrate to the cries of your sorrow stricken heart, and to shift his course to distil on your exigency the dews of his heavenly help? Pray if you please,"—for the objector in this instance is a Christian, and dare not inhibit prayer entirely,—"pray if you please, but look not, foolishly, or look in vain, for any direct recognition of your requests, and let the tranquil and grateful temper which is the spontaneous issue of the office, suffice and satisfy you." Now, as in the former case, we might hint, that our supplications and his response to them, are perhaps appointed by the prescient God to be powerfully influential upon the disposal of the lines of our lot, and that our cries of anguish are pre-ordained as the adequate means procurative of the heavenly solace we solicited; and that so, just because of our conviction of his unchangeableness, are we confident of the certainty with which in both instances he will 'hearken and do.' But let us attempt a reply by analogy, rather.

The strength of the difficulty lies in the assumption of such an immutability in God, as necessitates a course so uniform and steadfast in his dealings with man, that he may not deviate from it,—for the objection assumes that he must deviate from it,—to meet any individual entreaty, how urgent soever the want, and clamorous the cry. Now, it strikes us that this very uniformity and invariability, so far from sapping, should reinforce our conviction of the efficacy of prayer, by assuring us of the certainty

with which, from within the scope of his general processes, he detaches and imparts special privileges to those who employ special means to procure them.

In the material world, there are certain comforts and blessings patent to all. The light and warmth of sunshine, the bland breeze of summer, and the healthful blasts of winter, the smell of flowers, the grandeur of mountains, and of the sea, the solemnity of forests, and all the varied beauty and magnificence of nature,—these are free to all, and no inclosure excludes the poorest or the idlest from their enjoyment. And so in the spiritual domain of the same God over all, there are common advantages unpurchased of prayer, which natural religion and Christianity gratuitously bestow. A partial knowledge of God, a vague faith in him, an easy and indolent reliance upon his goodness, a tolerably correct system of public and personal morality, and a somewhat dim and unassured, but still comfortable hope of a future life, of pardon, and final rest,—of these, all who are Christians in name, are participants. Prayer does not include them, nor its omission forfeit them.

To return to the realm of Providence. From his confidence in the suitability to the supply of human want, of that general economy of nature, which lavishes unbought so many blessings upon all, assured by the very regularity and certainty of the system, that special advantages may be secured from it by special effort, the agriculturalist tills, and sows, and reaps, and gathers sustenance for the life material. And so, from a similar confidence in the suitability of the general economy of grace to spiritual need, and hence a conviction that singular privileges may be won from it by singular endeavor, the devout spirit waits on God, and importunes, and prevails, and gathers fruit unto life eternal. In both cases, the objects are attained by reliance upon the adaptability of the resources of that divine goodness which sheds unnumbered benefactions upon the race, to meet and satisfy peculiar diligence with peculiar privileges, and to do so, without the slightest deviation from the course of its steadfast and universal operations.

Further,—for it is perhaps no mere fanciful speculation that would carry out the analogy—as by the skill and labor of the husbandman, in dressing and enriching his

fields, his soil does actually inhale a greater amount of warmth and vital energy from the sun, and suck in, in a larger degree, the fertilizing juices of the rain, than the crude, unbroken earth around it; so the heart prepared by pious aspiration, and nourished by prayer, gathers in more copiously the effluences of God's comforting grace, and drinks in more luxuriant draughts of the reviving dews of his holy spirit, than the arid bosoms unsoftened by religious culture, that yield reluctant entrance to heavenly impulses, and nurture only the natural weeds of passion, and the wild flowers of unspiritual affections.

And yet again, to admonish us that to receive, we must ask, to find, we musk seek, let the cultivator intermit for one season his usual labor, and no fond persuasions on his part, of the uniform and unvarying goodness of God, will supply the harvest he has lost. So is it false to fact, however plausible it may seem in the metaphysics of natural religion, that the divine love is too large and impartial to be affected by our supplications, that as he surely knows without communication from us, all our wants and trials, he needs no importunities of ours to persuade him to a more personal appliance of his grace than that he would spontaneously exert upon us. The foolish husbandman, at the close of an idle season, standing disconsolate in his empty barns, is a fit effigy of the indigent soul desirous of extraordinary privileges, yet declining the use of prayer to procure them. Or if we will be answered from the lips of him who studied the plan of the divine government as he read it on the heart, lying in the bosom of the Father, peruse the parable of the friend at midnight, (Luke xi.) and that of the unjust judge, (Luke xviii.) and heed the lesson they were designed to teach us.

"Lightly won, lightly worn," is as true of heavenly, as of human advantages; and if, to deepen our sense of dependence on him, and to increase our appreciatian of the high value of his favors,—if to inspire us with heavenward impulses, and to habituate us to seek Him who hides himself from the heedless gaze of the indolent and unworthy—if, in this preliminary world, to train us for the skies, so that, when death releases us, we shall instinctively seek upward to him whom here we see through a glass darkly, on the threshold of his secret pavilion, to cry, "Now, I beseech

thee, shew me thy glory,"—if for ends like these, he has ordained, that only by solicitation shall his chiefest blessings and his choicest bounties be shed down upon us, overweening and presumptuous indeed is the confidence, which reckons his grace so prodigal and undiscriminating, as to be lavished upon unconscious wants, and unthankful hearts.

Do we mean then—for such an issue some may anticipate from the drift of our argument—that to every petition we choose to prefer, we have a right to expect an apposite response? We have shown above, that definiteness of request is encouraged in Scripture, and we have intimated that, destitute of this attribute, the very nature of the exercise is altered, and that what the worshipper imagines prayer is only meditation. So long as we indulge in mere generalities, so long as, sensible of spiritual want, or bewildered in difficulty, or shaking under the discipline of sorrow, we refrain from distinct and direct deprecation of the particular evil besetting us, or entreaty for the very grace we need, so long as we limit ourselves to pious ejaculations, no matter how fervent, to protestations of submission to our Maker's will, to mere aspirations after meeker tempers, purer lives, and tranquil fortunes, and suppress within our hearts the holy instinct that struggles to burst upward in immediate appeal to the listening God, so long do we betray our disbelief in him as the answerer of prayer, indicate our persuasion that while as a mode of spiritual exercitation it is advantageous, as a means of obtaining what we desire it is useless, and demonstrate our entire want of that confidence in him as hearing us when we ask any thing according to his will, which is the distinctive spirit of prayer.

But although thus insisting that prayer is prayer, that to pray is really to ask for what we want, we do not think that we are warranted to hope for precisely such a response to our wishes as we may frame for ourselves. We remember in our young days, of hearing of a good old Presbyterian lady in Edinburgh, one of whose nightly petitions ran to the effect, that heaven would grant her an income of £400 a year, adding with earnest specification, "payable quarterly, O Lord!" So carefully and circumstantially to prescribe to God the exact amount of the favor

we solicit, we certainly would not advocate. Yet we have no quarrel with the nature of her request. We are justified in seeking temporal, no less than spiritual advantages, from him in whom we live, and move, and have our being, and from whom cometh down our every good, as well as our every perfect gift.

But while seeking them, like the patriarch, let us worship leaning on the staff of a faith that will support us, whether he grant or withhold. It is ours to plead, directly, specially; it is His to discern, and decide whether what we covet be really that which we require. St. John tells us that if we ask for any thing that is in accordance with his will, he hears, that is, he answers us. And very clearly, we think, we detect in such an exhortation, an implied encouragement to make an immediate appeal to him for every blessing in his treasure-store of goodness. "If we ask any thing," is evidently addressed to persons who are assumed to ask for many things. And yet our expectations are to be qualified by the reflection that only such as are agreeable to his will shall be accorded. Nor does this qualification, when rightly applied, tend to impair our confidence in him. Rather does it augment it; and while not at all interfering with the particularity of our requests, shutting out from the scope of our supplications no one object of reasonable desire, it calls upon us to cultivate a larger faith than that which consists in a persuasion that each separate quest will receive just such an answer as our conceptions have fashioned for us, and to cast ourselves with implicit reliance on his wisdom and kindness, to select and bestow just such benefactions as he sees to be advantageous for us. We cannot read the records of his will, and because we cannot, it is not for us to decide which of the many boons we seek would really be boons to us. But just therefore—since even those of them set apart for us, will not be granted unless they be besought—just because he reserves from us a knowledge of those, among the many objects of our desires, which would be truly profitable to us,—those things that are according to his will—just therefore is it requisite, that in our flights heavenward, we sweep the whole circuit of our wants upon the unwearying wing of prayer, sustained the while by a strong and steadfast faith—a faith far bolder

than that which looks for a literal answer to each particular entreaty—that, our effort made, our reward will follow; that, adown the same holy path of communication by which we mounted to his presence, his holy spirit will pursue us, and pour into our hearts such treasures of pardon and peace as he has apportioned to us, and upon the path of our daily march, upon our social walks, and our household hearths, just such blessings as are best for us; yea, and kindle afresh, fanning it with the breath of our every supplication, the flame that seeks the sky—flame of hope, tender and holy,—that glows upon the graves of our departed.

We pray, pressed by the hard necessities of poverty, for an improvement in our worldly circumstances, for a competence of material comfort;—give us each day our daily bread, we cry;—or in bodily weakness, or disease, in the use of the means prescribed by human skill, we implore his vital help, without which human aids are naught, and yet the gripe of poverty is unrelaxed, and his saving health withheld.

Shall we shrink in despondent doubt to a prayerless distance from his throne, or shall we join the infidel, and flout against his ability, or his willingness, to single out our individual exigency from the multitude of his universal cares, and to send us the special relief we crave? Must we then have the very petition we prefer, met and satisfied in the very way we propose, or decide God to be faithless, deaf, or impotent? Shall we, purblind and perverse, prescribe to the Allseeing and considerate Father, what he shall bestow, and how he shall bestow it, and impute to reluctance, or defect, a refusal that surely springs from his care and love for us? How are we so confident that worldy affluence might not reduce us to spiritual beggary; that the robust health of the flesh might not be followed by a spiritual atrophy more lamentable by far than any bodily wretchedness? Be sure it is in guardianship of our truest interests, that he seems to deign no response to our demands. But *does* he render no reply? To a prayer, for what specific boon soever, if the prayer of a devout and reverential and earnest soul, from the first lone cry of Adam groping up the sky after his Maker, to the present hour, when thick as stars the air is clustered with the

ascending orisons of his creatures,—he never yet has denied an adequate, a far more than adequate rejoinder. The rejoinder we besought, it may not be; but the boon of all others the fittest and best for us, we may be sure it will be. Can we not trust him so far? Shall we forget, how, in Gethsemane, his Only Begotten prayed very earnestly, being in an agony such as crushed the perspiring blood through every pore, prayed that the cup of pain whose dregs were death, might be put past his lips? And was this prayer heard? Yes, in the inmost depths of heaven, heard by every angel's ear, and echoed surely by every angel's tongue in his behalf; heard and felt in the Father's heart, and answered too in the helping angel despatched from the Father's side to support him; but not heard nor answered in literal accordance with the burden of its utterance; for it was not the will of God that the cup should be put aside, and he drank and died.

We need, surely, no higher example, to inspire us with the assurance that all our prayers, when the earnest utterances of our souls, if they do not bring us the very response we seek, will still secure such an acknowledgement of his heedfulness and love, as shall leave no pretext for discontent or repining. If, from inaptitude, and irrelevancy to our real wants, they fail to persuade him to yield us what we seek,—but what, if we knew what he knows, we would deprecate with apprehension and alarm—they have always the power to start angels from his side, burdened with blessings culled by his own hand from the fruitful Paradise of his grace, and dispensed and apportioned by his unerring wisdom, and considerate love, to the real necessities of our condition.

Our conclusion is, that putting aside the skeptical objections we have been discussing, as frivolous, and exercising such a confidence in God as cheerfully concedes to him the selection of the reply, we are warranted to pray for the satisfaction of every conscious need, and the possession of every coveted attainment; for food for the body, and nourishment for the soul; for release from the sin that galls us, for succor in the trial that overtasks us, and for solace in the sorrow that scourges us to his feet. For friends and kindred, for strangers and foes, for the common brother race with whom the universal Father shall yet save, and link us in eternal union "through the

redemption that is in Christ Jesus," let us prefer the importunate desire, and lift up the supplicating voice. He hears, and he will answer; not merely by the natural influences of the exercise, in what we may call the mechanical effects of the effort, as the Rationalist would persuade us, but actually, and by the direct communication of his benefits to our own souls, and the souls of those whom we sanctify by our intercessions. Yes, and for the supply of particular needs, and the bestowment of particular graces, should we pray, our confidence the while overleaping all specialities, and casting us in trusting surrender at his feet, in patient waiting for such results as his large wisdom and thoughtful love shall allot us. Is he not both able and willing to do for us, far more abundantly than we can ask, or think? A. G. L.

Art. VIII.

Literary Notices.

1. Ida May; A Story of Things Actual and Possible. By Mary Langdon, &c. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 478.

A Story of Slavery. The heroine is the only surviving child of a widowed father, a gentleman of good fortune in Pennsylvania. At the age of five years, while walking abroad with her playmate, she is kidnapped, and hurried over the line. Having undergone the breaking-in, which is requisite in such cases,—having had her spirit crushed by the whip, her intellect and even her memory paralyzed, and being thus fitted for her doom, the child is taken to the South, and sold as a slave. She is first bought by a very good-natured master, who keeps his slaves fat and in a comfortable condition, and who sells them when he finds that they cannot be kept quiet, or when they grow old and unprofitable. He soon discovers that the stupefied, yet still interesting, girl is white, for the stain gets washed from her face; he suspects the truth, that she is some gentleman's daughter kidnapped from her home; but he has paid the price of the slave, and he cannot think of losing his bargain—good man! Property is

property; and if any wrong has been done, it was done by others, not by him; so that he is clear. Finding, however, that the presence of the beautiful though stunned and bewildered child occasions some uneasiness in his own family, he sells her to a slave-driver, to make up a coffle for the still further South. On her way thither, she is rescued, or rather bought, by the son of a Planter, is received to his father's home, restored by affectionate treatment to the use of her memory and to recollections of her family, and finally becomes the noble-spirited wife of her deliverer.

Such is the tenor of a story, which, the author says, "embodies ideas and impressions received by the writer during a residence in the South." Of course, we have stripped it of all its interest, by thus giving it only in skeleton. We ought to say that it is well told, that it is rich in incidents, and that the scenes through which it leads us embrace almost every aspect of slave-life and Planter's life. The characters to which it introduces us are quite various. Among the blacks, we are made acquainted with nearly all grades between the stupid and the intelligent, the malicious and the affectionate, the stubbornly perverse and the religious. Among the whites the scale runs down the whole range from the secret friend of emancipation to the self-satisfied slave-holder, and thence to the bigoted advocate of "the peculiar institution," the jealous guardian of it, and finally to the slave-driver and breaker-in, along with his hounds. Some of these characters and scenes are, of course, such as to excite the most painful feelings. But even where the manner of describing them is a little stiff, or artificial, the scenes themselves are very naturally developed, and bear with them convincing evidence of their truthfulness. The author says that there may be brighter, and there certainly are darker, colors than any which she has here depicted; but that she has preferred to take the medium tones, and has been careful not to exaggerate, or "set down aught in malice." All candid readers, of good sense and of a tolerable degree of information, will accord to her the praise of having adhered to the line of moderation which she proposed to herself.

The most harrowing scene, after the kidnapping, is, we think, that in old Chloe's hut, where the yet uncrushed spirit of a free child is beaten out of Ida, and she paralyzed into a slave. The process, when once described, becomes perfectly intelligible; it is seen to be in perfect keeping with the laws of our nature. It is human nature in old Chloe to be fiendish, after an experience like hers; it is human nature in poor Ida to be transformed, under the circumstances, into a half-idiot, though her native powers are not irremediably extinguished by the temporary syncope. We hear people, even those who are otherwise sensible people, say, in excuse of our national abomination, that our blacks are an inferior race. We should like to be told when and where there ever was a race of chattel-slaves, black or white,

who were not inferior. It is the law of their condition. Old Homer said, more than twenty-seven centuries ago, that the day a man becomes a slave, he loses half of his manhood; and the world has ever since regarded this as a striking instance of the poet's clear insight into our nature. Inferiority is the law of the slave's condition; a law of that ever-merciful, but ever-just, Providence, who has so ordained, that the sensibilities of the victim should be partially relieved by the stunning effects of the first blow, and who at the same time holds the perpetrator to a double retribution, for the wrong done to a fellow-creature, and also for the stultification which enables the sufferer to endure that wrong. We know nothing of more fearful omen than to hear people, with a wise look and a complacent air, plead the greatest aggravation of their guilt as an excuse for the outrage they commit or defend.

Another very suggestive scene is that of the Carolinian mob, which gathers to *lynch* Ida and her father, on suspicion of their being abolitionists, or at least of their having occasionally let drop expressions that savored of freedom. It is a vivid picture of the brutality and rage that characterize the poor rabble in a slave-holding community, while it still does liberal justice to the more orderly and prudent counsels of many Planters.

But the scenes that we would select for special notice, multiply before us as we recall the tenor of the story. We therefore particularize no further. Can it be that such transactions as are here described are passing from year to year, and from age to age, in our own country, and in this nineteenth century of the Gospel of Christ? It seems like a dream of Pandemonium. And yet, when we rouse ourselves, we know that the whole is but a faint presentation of the reality,—that our chattel-slavery, from the nature of the case, involves all the atrocities here described, and others too that are beyond the power of fiction to exaggerate. People who do not like to have our national sore meddled with, may do in the case of "Ida May," as they did in the case of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." They may loudly deny, before the tribunal of the world, that it is true; just as my neighbor, who sells rum, pleads "Not Guilty" before our judicial tribunals, and gets his hangers-on to swear him clear, when there is not a man in the town but knows that he does sell it, and that the charge against him does not embrace a hundredth part of his offences. In fact, we see by the papers, that the policy of swearing down the charge has already been resorted to. It is denied that free white children are kidnapped and made slaves. Free black children are treated in this way,—that is a thing of little moment,—but not free white children. What good will it do to deny this? Is it the wish of the advocates of slavery to call forth a "Key" to "Ida May," as they called forth a "Key" to "Uncle Tom's Cabin?" For there is not a well-informed person, North or South, but knows that free

white children are sometimes kidnapped and made slaves, and that there are such things as the mobbing of men and women suspected of abolitionism. Would that these were the worst of the evils that inhere in the system of American slavery! No unbiassed person, of good sense, can doubt that both the general picture in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and that in "Ida May," are essentially true; for he is conscious to himself that they are fair and candid expositions of the workings of human nature under the given circumstances. Neither work needs a "Key;" each bears its own verification in itself. The one has spoken home to the conscience of the whole civilized world; and the other has uttered a voice that will carry conviction on both sides of the Atlantic. Each of them holds up before our face a system of wrong among us, that no man can look at without turning sick at heart, and that no man has impudence enough to defend, or excuse, or in any way countenance, but by first denying its character.

And this system of iniquity, in some respects unparalleled for atrocity by any other policy on the face of the globe, except in Cuba —alas, we know that this is the very system which the upshot of our Congressional legislation, for half a century now, has gone to strengthen and to spread abroad, and never with so high a hand as in the year just closed. We ask every lover of his country, whether in the North or in the South, to look steadily at this fact; for he knows it to be a fact. It is so terrible, that the larger part of well-meaning people turn away from the sight that troubles them, and desperately try to solace themselves by refusing to see it. But such a disposal of the matter is to the last degree foolish. It is criminal. Let them look steadily at it. Let them think seriously what chattel-slavery is —what it always must be, when held over a vast region, at the discretion of all kinds of masters; and then let them consider that all which our National Legislature has done for the last fifty years, with respect to it, has been to cherish and to extend it. Are they aware that its advances instead of abating have, for the whole of that period, been growing more and more rapid, and now more daring than ever; that in the last ten years its area has been nearly doubled; and that arrangements are now in contemplation, both at the North and at the South, to stretch its line down to the Isthmus of Panama, and around the West Indies. We do not affect to have any special foresight; but surely it is no presumption, it is only stating a self-evident case, to say, that these arrangements will be carried into effect, unless there be a radical change in the temper of our people, and this very soon. If our influential families refuse to take a stand against the encroaching power; if it continue to be the tone of "good society" to cry down all agitation of the subject, and to sneer politely at all earnestness in the matter; if our merchants and commercial men continue to plead for compromises with slavery, and to palliate its evils; if our older newspapers continue, some of them to

pander in the most desperate way to the slaveocracy, and others to tolerate it, except in some moment of exasperating insult; if the clergymen of city congregations continue to keep silence, or now and then come out in public excuse of the abomination; if our leading politicians are still allowed to whip-in, keeper-like, every straggler from the pack they hold in leash—if all this continue as hitherto, there is not a man of common sense but can calculate the horoscope of our country with moral certainty. The power that has been advancing with increasing strides for half a century, will make still greater headway. There may be flurries of indignation against her from time to time, but all ineffectual and temporary, as hitherto. The people may now and then rise *en masse* against her encroachments, but their keepers will whip them down once more. She will have her way, as she ever has had; for *she* is determined. In a few years quarrels will be successively picked with Mexico, Central America, and all the West India Islands; they will be "annexed," covered with slavery, formed into States, admitted to the Union, and, with the help of northern recreants, hold irresistible sway from the St. Lawrence and the British dominions, to the coast of South America, —the greatest and most terrible slave empire that the sun ever shone upon. The Northern States will be obliged to legalize slavery, on the principle, already begun to be acted on, that the master has a right to carry his chattels wherever he pleases to go; the prohibition once removed, there will not be wanting, among our own citizens, those who would like to have a few "servants" in permanent possession; the slave-trade will be opened anew, in spite of all compromises, the value of which we have now learned. The great Republic will be revolutionized into an Oligarchy of the haughtiest kind, presided over by men who have been educated from their infancy in the principles and habits of irresponsible Despotism. Here is the first stage in the coming career of our country, unless there speedily be, in the spirit of our people, a change, a *radical* change, of which we see no determinate signs at present.

2. Kanzas and Nebraska: the History, Geographical and Physical Characteristics, and Political Position of those Territories; an account of the Emigrant Aid Companies, and Directions to Emigrants. By Edward E. Hale. With an original Map from the latest authorities. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company. 1854. 12mo. pp. 256.

The preparation of this work was occasioned by the movement to form Emigrant Aid Companies for the immediate settlement of Kanzas with a free population. It was hoped, by this movement, to secure that territory on the side of freedom, notwithstanding that Congress had opened it for a slave-country. To diffuse as complete a knowledge of the territory, and of its prospects, as can be gathered at present, is the object of Mr. Hale. We think he has done his task

well. The field which he surveys embraces almost every topic on which either an emigrant, or a general reader, would be likely to inquire with respect to that region; and the information that is given appears to have been collected with a carefulness, and to be stated with an impartiality, that render it worthy of confidence. Mr. Hale begins with the history of early discovery in the Mississippi valley, particularly in Kanzas; then proceeds to a review of the numerous Indian tribes that are found in the latter territory, giving an account of their present condition and of their prospects for the future; describes the face of the country, its capabilities, its rivers, navigable and innavigable, its valleys, soil, &c., its military posts, trading and missionary stations, the sites of *projected* cities, the routes of travel, both the existing and the contemplated ones. He relates the history of legislation, respecting the territory, from the debate on the Missouri Bill in 1820, to the passage of the Nebraska Bill last winter. Finally, he describes the Emigration Aid Companies that are formed in several states of our Union, gives many valuable suggestions to emigrants, and all the information he could gather for their wants.

"It must be," says he, "that the settlement of the new territories by the best population that can be given them shall command the active efforts of all true lovers of their country. This effort ought not to be spoken of as a little affair, or as incidental or subsidiary to other enterprizes, but as the greatest duty now before American patriots and Christians. It is a way of work more hopeful than any which has been opened for years. It gives room for the exertion of every one, in whatever position, and holds out rewards such as satisfy the most eager. In the long, painful, irritating, and perplexing discussion which has sought to check and hem in the institution of slavery, the great difficulty has been the want of a field of action, where working men should not feel that they were wasting life in mere talk, or wordy protest, or prophecy. That field is found in Kanzas. To send men to Kanzas, or to go to Kanzas, resolved that free labor shall be honored in Kanzas, and shall make itself honorable, is an effort which can enlist the energies of every man."

3. Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou; with Accounts of his Writings, and Biographical Sketches of his Seniors and Contemporaries in the Universalist Ministry. By Thomas Whittemore, &c. Vol. II. Boston: James M. Usher. 1854. 12mo. pp. 408.

This second volume covers the period from Mr. Ballou's removal to Boston, in 1817, to the end of his editorial engagement with the Universalist Magazine, in 1828. Its method is, in general, the same as that of the first volume—of which we gave a notice in a former Number of the Quarterly. It consists of large extracts from Mr. Ballou's publications, interspersed with comments, and connected together by a running narrative. In the course of the narrative

portions we have, not only the personal memoir, strictly speaking, but notices also of the controversies and discussions in which its subject engaged, of the contemporary affairs of our Denomination, and of many of its preachers. A considerable space in the volume is occupied with an account of the old personal quarrel on future punishment. That quarrel aroused feelings, and a spirit of partizanship, which have not yet subsided, and which have prevented among us, for the most part, any quiet, rational discussion of the topic, and of the scriptures that relate to it. The sooner we rise above these old irritations, the better for us.

Mr. Whittemore's work is valuable, not only for the full account it gives of what may be called the events in Mr. Ballou's life, and the important part which he acted, but also as a record of the numerous controversies in which he engaged, and of his journeyings and preaching in different sections of the country, as a depository of arguments and interpretations that have been used among us, and for the aid it furnishes, in these and other ways, towards a history of our Denomination.

4. Humanity in the City. By the Rev. E. H. Chapin. New York: De Witt & Davenport, &c. Boston: Abel Tompkins, &c. 12mo. pp. 252.

We would speak of the fervid and brilliant eloquence of these Discourses, did not the phrase seem like tautology when used in connexion with a work by this author,—pardon any appearance of a studied compliment in the expression! What we would commend to the attention of our readers, is, the just views which he presents of human life and duty, and the peculiar moral force with which these views are brought home to the conscience. We do not believe that any person of ordinary moral susceptibility, can read these Discourses without being stirred to the quick, by the solemn aspects which our relations with the world assume under the preacher's treatment. The vivid play of his imagination, like the lightning which shines from one end of heaven to the other, only discloses a wider horizon, and sets the objects in sharper outline.

The topics of this volume are, like those of a former volume by the same author, drawn from the various phases of human life in a city, and from our relations with our fellow-men in every condition. With respect to these, he says, in his Preface, "I wish merely to say that I am far from supposing that these are the only themes to be preached, or that they constitute the highest class of practical subjects, and shall be sorry if in any way they seem to imply a neglect of that interior and holy life which is the spring not only of right affections, but of clear perceptions and sturdy, every-day duty. I hope, on the contrary, that the very aspects of this busy city-life—the very problems which start out of it—will tend to convince men of the necessity

of this inward and regenerating principle. Nevertheless, I maintain that these topics have a place in the circle of the preacher's work, and he need entertain no fear of desecrating his pulpit by secular themes, who seeks to consecrate all things in any way involving the action and the welfare of men, by the spirit and aims of His religion who, while he preached the gospel, likewise fed the hungry, healed the sick, and touched the issues of every temporal want."

5. The Life of Horace Greeley, Editor of the New York Tribune. By J. Parton. New York: Mason & Brother. 1855.

Few men in any age or country are as deserving of a biography—few men whose biography can be of as much service to the reader—as Horace Greeley. We are glad that his life has been written; and we agree with his biographer, that if the lives of party politicians may be written to serve party purposes, there is no reason why Horace Greeley's life may not be written for his country's benefit. Mr. Parton has exhibited considerable industry and care in the preparation of his volume. An extensive correspondence with many of Mr. Greeley's acquaintance, extensive travel among the scenes of his youth, and minute examination of his hero's written words, scattered over the pages of almost numberless papers, pamphlets, and books, have furnished him with the materials. Except in the sense that he has furnished every thing, Mr. Greeley has furnished nothing for the benefit of his biographer—indeed, till the day of the appearance of the book, he had not read a single line of its contents. We are glad to learn that the Life is having an extensive sale. No better book can be put into the hands of the young. It is high praise for our country, that no other country can produce such a hero and such a book. G. E. M.

6. The Papal Conspiracy Exposed, and Protestantism Defended, in the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture. By Rev. Edward Beecher, D. D. Boston: Stearns and Company. 1855.

Seizing the occasion when public attention is very generally directed to the papal question, Dr. Beecher brings to what he deems the cause of civil and religious liberty, the weight of his learning and logic. His distinctive position is, that the Church of Rome is "a corporation"—a corporation, the avowed purpose of which is to extend, as far as practicable, a spiritual despotism over the entire world. He also purposes to show, that the agents of this corporation have not been in the past, are not now, and in consistency with their principles have no right to be, at all scrupulous of the means requisite to the purposed end. Truth, honor, all forms of morality, are never to interfere with the advancement of the papal corporation. Equivocation, open falsehood, even perjury, are to be practised when the interests of the church may seem to require such agencies. "Ec

clesiastical utility" is prior in its importance to all other considerations. The author is profuse of extracts from "infallible" councils and standard Catholic writers. He gives the book, the chapter and page, and in some instances the library where his authority may be consulted. Of all the opponents which the present anti-Catholic movement has called into the arena, a more candid, and at the same time a more formidable one than the author of The Papal Conspiracy Exposed, cannot be named. G. E. M.

7. The Complete Poetical Works of William Collins, Thomas Gray, and Oliver Goldsmith. With Biographical Sketches and Notes. Edited by Epes Sargent. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 98, 139, 166.

The Poetical Works of Thomas Hood, with a Biographical Sketch. Edited by Epes Sargent. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 491.

We wish to direct attention to the series of "Standard British Poets," which Messrs. Phillips, Sampson and Company are now republishing under the editorial care of Mr. Sargent. The mechanical execution is beautiful throughout,—simple, and in the best taste. The paper is good, the type large and fair, and the appearance of the volumes in every respect attractive, while the price is so moderate as to bring them within the means of the poorest. Mr. Sargent has done his duty, as Editor, with fidelity, and with judicious discrimination. His arrangement of the pieces, his prefatory and critical notes, and the biographical sketches which he prefixes of the several authors, all evince his good judgement and his appreciation of the wants of the reader. We know of no cheap edition of the Standard British Poets which, in all respects, we could set in competition with this.

8. History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States; with Notices of its Principal Framers. By George Ticknor Curtis. In Two Volumes. Volume I. New York: Harper & Brothers, &c. 1854. 8vo. pp. 518.

Mr. Curtis was evidently aware of the great difficulty, as well as importance of the task he has here undertaken, and he has given satisfactory indications that he had prepared himself for it by the requisite study, research, and deliberate survey. Everywhere, his volume bears the appearance of being the fruit of complete acquaintance with his subject, and of mature thought. The history of the Constitution of our country is, properly, a history of the prevalent views entertained by our countrymen, at successive periods, concerning the true principles and form of government, and of the ways in which they embodied these views. It is not merely an account of the several attempts to frame a Constitution, and of the compacts, with their several modifications, that were proposed or adopted for this purpose; it is not merely an account of the formal movements

that were made towards this end, of the Conventions that were held, of the debates, compromises, &c., that ensued in the deliberative sessions, nor of the proceedings of the several State legislatures in adopting the Instrument, nor of the successive interpretations and workings of the Instrument after it was ratified, all these are indeed included, but they are by no means the whole. The Constitution grew out of the habits and principles of our people, and especially of the leading men among them. On those points on which there were conflicting elements, of this kind, in different sections of our country, we find corresponding elements that conflict with each other in the Instrument itself. It is therefore requisite to go back into the ideas of civil polity that prevailed in different quarters, and to trace their developement in the grand national compact, which is the compromised expression of them. This, Mr. Curtis has done, and we think that, on the whole, he has performed it well, as far as he has gone. His exposition is clear; we see at once the connexion of the facts with each other, and with their internal causes. He appears to aim at impartiality in his narrative and inferences; whether he has succeeded in this respect, in which the most of our writers fail, must be left to the decision of better judges than ourselves. If his style is a little too heavy, it is at least not so dangerous a fault as overcoloring and an excess of piquancy for the sake of effect.

The volume before us embraces the period beginning with the American Revolution and ending with the close of the Convention of 1787. If the remaining volume be executed with equal thoroughness and ability, the work will be of great value to the general reader as well as to the student of our political history.

9. A Discussion on the Doctrine of Eternal Salvation. Question: "Do the Holy Scriptures teach the Doctrine of Endless Misery?" Affirmative, Rev. Isaac Westcott. Negative, Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D. New York: Bunce & Brother, Publishers, &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 187.

The Discussion was an oral debate, held last Autumn in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, for eight evenings. It was taken down at the time by a Reporter, and the present volume is his report revised by the parties, and published under their authority and supervision. A similar volume had been issued of a Discussion held in the same place, by the same gentlemen, last April. This we have not seen, for the reason, probably, that we were absent from the country when it appeared. But the volume now before us we heartily commend to the attention of our readers. In it they will find the question of Endless Misery earnestly discussed, but with becoming dignity, and without the personalities, or the quibbles *ad vulgus captandum*, that are apt to dishonor public debates even on religious topics,—alas, that we must say, on religious topics quite as much as on any! On the one side, they may here see what are the grounds upon which that doctrine stands, and what are the associated tenets by which it is

confirmed, in the popular belief; on the other side, they may see a full examination of these grounds, and of their correlative adjuncts, To us it seems strange that the doctrine of Endless Misery should have held its place, for so long a time, in the Protestant Church which has had the free use of the Bible; but every discussion, at least every honorable discussion, of the tenet, weakens its hold on the public mind, and lets in light on the great question of the final destiny of mankind.

10. Caroli Passaglia, e Societate Jesu, in Romano Collegio Theologiae Professoris, etc., de Aeternitate Poenarum, deque Igno Inferno, Commentarii. Ratisbonæ: 1854. [*Commentaries, on the Eternity of Punishment, and on the Fire of Hell. By Carolus Passaglia, of the Society of Jesus, Professor of Theology in the Roman College, &c.*] 8 vo. pp. 62.

We notice this pamphlet chiefly because its appearance is a symptom that the subject of which it treats is exciting some interest in the higher places of the Roman Catholic Church. The author says he has "discovered, by indubitable signs, that the question concerning the Eternity of Punishment, and concerning Hell-fire, is breaking out again, in several places, and that especially in England, France, and Germany, it is still more vehemently agitated. He therefore applies himself to the task of maintaining the Catholic verity. His work, however, contains only the old and thread-bare arguments, put into the form of Lemmes, Corollaries, Theorems, Scholia, &c., to prove that punishment will be endless, and that hell-fire is real or material fire.

11. The Cheerful Heart, &c.
The Charm, &c.
Country Life, &c.
The Angel Children, &c.

Four very pleasant Juvenile Books, published by Phillips, Sampson and Company. 1855.

12. Discoveries in Chinese; or the Symbolism of the Primitive Characters of the Chinese System of Writing; as a Contribution to Philology and Ethnology, and a practical aid in the Acquisition of the Chinese Language. By Stephen Pearl Andrews. New York: Published by Charles B. Norton. 1854. 12mo. pp. 137.

It would be folly in us, who know nothing of the Chinese language, to presume on judging of the merits of Mr. Andrews' hypothesis. The way in which he announces and illustrates it, gives it a suspicious appearance in our eyes; but we can not say whether the fault is altogether in the manner, or partly in the matter. Be the theory sound or fanciful, if the publication shall serve to direct attention to the subject, it will be useful.

13. Poems of the Orient. By Bayard Taylor. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1855. 12mo. pp. 203.

It is no small merit that these poems fully deserve the title which they bear; for they seem to the reader the natural inspiration of Eastern climes.

> "The yellow moon—rising large
> Above the Desert's dusky maze"—

and all the scenery which his verse displays, is vividly marked upon our imagination. Nor is there wanting a deeper purpose to the writer, when he tells us in "L' Envoi"—

> "For not to any race or any clime
> Is the completed sphere of life revealed;
> He who would make his own that round sublime,
> Must pitch his tent on many a distant field.
>
> "Upon his home a dawning lustre beams,
> But through the world he walks to open day,
> Gathering from every land the prismal gleams,
> Which, when united, form the perfect ray."

G. H. B.

14. Memoir of Rev. James M. Cook. By Theodore D. Cook. Boston: James M. Usher. 1854. 12mo. pp. 430.

A very full biography of one of the most earnest, active, and efficient preachers in the Universalist ministry. The Rev. James Monroe Cook was distinguished by his zeal and devotedness in the cause of religious truth, by his indefatigable labors and ready self-sacrifice as a pastor, and by the ardor of his eloquence in the pulpit. Cut off at the age of forty-eight, while his power and usefulness were increasing faster perhaps than ever before, he still left abundant monuments of his faithfulness and ability, in the good work that he had accomplished in the several fields of his ministry,—especially in Western New York, in Providence, R. I., and in the city of Baltimore. We are glad to see the record of his life and ministry laid before the public, that those who did not know him personally may at least share in the influences of his example. By it, "he, being dead, yet speaketh."

15. Day-Dreams by a Butterfly. In Nine Parts, &c. &c. Kingston, C. W. [Canada-West.] 1854. 12mo. pp. 156.

A revery, in verse, on the various phases of Nature, as seen by the uninstructed eye, and also as presented by the Sciences, and by the different systems of speculative Philosophy. We think that the work lacks clearness and continuity of thought, and that the author was unfortunate in the form which he chose for his verse.

16. General History of the Christian Religion and Church: from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the last Edition. By Joseph Torrey, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont, &c. &c. Volume Fifth: comprising the Sixth Volume of the Original. (Eleventh Part of the Whole Work.) Published from the Posthumous Papers, by K. F. Th. Schneider. First American Edition. Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster. 1854. 8vo. pp. xxv. 415.

This last volume of Dr. Neander's great work occupies the period from Boniface viii., A. D. 1300, to the beginning of the Reformation under Luther. The lamented author did not live to prepare it for the press. This was done, after his death, by one of his devoted admirers, K. F. Th. Schneider, who had assisted him in the preparation of his former volumes, and who was thoroughly familiar with his views and with his manner. In some of the chapters before us, we find obvious marks of the imperfect state in which the author left them, though the German editor has done all that he could with justice do to supply the deficiencies of an unfinished manuscript. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the present volume is by no means the least valuable of the sett. The topics it embraces are of the highest interest to students whether of religious or of general history. The new developement of ecclesiastical power under Boniface viii., the great Schism in the Papacy, the Reforms attempted by Wicklif and his followers in England, and by Huss, Jerome, and others, in Bohemia, the ineffectual movements towards a general Reformation in the Catholic Church itself, especially by the Councils of Pisa and Constance,—these are the stirring events of the period here embraced.

Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church is now closed,—closed at the period to which he had been aiming, for a quarter of a century, to bring it, but which he reached only through a long struggle with other daily avocations, with failing health, and with growing blindness. It is affecting to read, in Schneider's Preface, that, checked and disabled by these embarrassments, Neander "once and again had even entertained the thought of bringing his work to a close in the form of a compendium; but strong attachment to the labor of his life, ever breaking forth afresh, and the hope that he might perhaps yet recover the use of his eye-sight, constantly brought him back again to the extremely painful and yet dearly beloved continuation of the task he had begun."

Prof. Torrey's task, in this work, is also now closed, we trust under happier circumstances. He has secured to himself a widely extended reputation as a skilful translator, and a consciousness of having conferred a great favor on the thinkers both of America and of Britain. While we render thanks to him for the service he has done, we ought not to overlook the enterprizing Publishers who took on themselves the pecuniary liability of issuing so heavy a *work.*

17. The Lands of the Saracen: or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain. By Bayard Taylor. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 10 Park Place. 1855. 12mo. pp. 451.

The chapters which make up this volume were originally published in the New York Tribune in a series of letters, in which form they may have fallen under the eye of the reader. We read them as they appeared from time to time with satisfaction and profit, but confess we were not aware of their superior value until we met with them in the finely printed and firmly bound volume under notice. What has delighted and we may even say surprised us most of all is, the perfect truthfulness with which all the statements and descriptions are made. There is no attempt at the rhetorical for effect—things are presented just as they are. Sentimental passages, expressive of feelings which one is supposed to possess in certain situations, but which no one ever realizes on the spot, do not flow from the pen of Bayard Taylor. Our first introduction to the author was in his celebrated "Views-A-Foot," published in 1846. The extensive sale of these volumes, and especially the continual demand for them, (a new edition has been recently issued,) show their superiority in the popular estimate over the ordinary works of travel. But these stirring volumes should not be cited as authority. The style is too flowing, and some of their statements are a little wide of the mark. But neither of these charges can in truth be brought against his later works. He is not only one of the most readable of authors, but adds to this the somewhat rare virtue—that of a perfectly reliable traveller. R.

18. Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament. Messrs. Jewett & Co. have issued other volumes from the prolific pen of Dr. Cumming of London, than those which have already been announced in these pages. We invite the particular attention of our brethren to Scripture Readings on Matthew and Mark. They are books of decided merit, and though not free from the theological bias of the Church to which Dr. C. belongs, are catholic in spirit, and will fully reward any intelligent person for a careful reading. His remarks on baptism (pp. 15–17 of work on Matt.) are very suggestive and seemingly scriptural. R.

19. The Rose-Bud; a Love Gift for Young Hearts, for 1855. Edited by Mrs. C. A. Soule. Boston: A. Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 168.

A very pleasant Juvenile work. People often speak of the moral influence which works of this kind exert; in the present case we can say that it is of the most salutary kind. It seems to us, however, that we need some other epithet, or else that we need to have the epithet "moral," in this connection, so explained as to be generally understood to embrace what relates particularly to the temper.

"The Rose-Bud" is certainly written in a spirit that can not fail to cherish an amiable, affectionate, and trustful disposition in its young readers; it seems to breathe forth the very air of sweetness, as the rose is redolent of its peculiar fragrance.

20. The Illustrated Natural History. By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. With 450 original designs, by William Harvey. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854.

The peculiarity which recommends this book as preferable to others on the same general subject, is in its accuracy of information, its systematic arrangement, its simplicity and brevity of treatment—in a word, its adaptation to the wants and comprehension of the mass of readers. It abounds in illustrations; and its typographical execution does credit to the American press.

21. The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1855. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co.

It is difficult to enumerate the merits of this work, so various is the information scattered over its three hundred and fifty pages. We can only say, in general terms, that whatever relates to the affairs of the general and the State governments of this country, the States of Europe, railroad statistics, astronomical discoveries and observations, the calendar phenomena, &c., &c., is given with an amplitude of detail such as can be found in no other publication. It would take pages to enumerate even the different *kinds* of knowledge presented in the American Almanac. It is what it purports to be, a repository of useful knowledge.

We are obliged, by want of space, to postpone to our next No. notices of several publications that we have received, among which are the following:

22. The Elements of Intellectual Philosophy. By Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 426.

23. The Christian Household. Embracing the Christian Home, Husband, Wife, Father, Mother, Child, Brother, and Sister. By George S. Weaver, Author of "Lectures on Mental Science," "Hopes and Helps for the Young," "Moral Antipodes," etc. etc. Boston: A. Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 160.

24. Practical Christian Socialism: a Conversational Exposition of the True System of Human Society; in Three Parts, viz: 1. Fundamental Principles. 2. Constitutional Polity. 3. Superiority to other Systems. By Adin Ballou, &c. &c. Hopedale: Published by the Author. New York: Fowlers & Wells. 1854. 8vo. pp. 655.

Art. IX.

The Great Moral Conflict.

The Divine Character Vindicated. A Review of some of the Principal Features of the Rev. Dr. E. Beecher's recent Work, entitled: "The Conflict of Ages; or, The Great Debate on the Moral Relations of God and Man." By Moses Ballou, &c. &c. Redfield, &c. New York, 1854. 12mo. pp. 412.

We have been much pleased with the character of this volume in almost every respect. It would be aside from our purpose to enter into a regular critique of the work, but we wish to mention some of its general features. It appears to have been written throughout in the feeling of respect, and on the principle of honor. So far as we discover, it has none of those faults that are so common in controversies, we mean censoriousness on the one hand, and parade of affected candor on the other hand, with adroit appeals to prejudices on all hands, as a running accompaniment. It is equally free from every thing like carping, never falls into the vice of smart pettifogging, nor attempts to take advantage of an opponent's words, or in any way to put a strain upon his meaning. It is as manly in its mode of treatment, as it is thorough in its execution. The most of these, it may be thought, are but negative excellences. Yet if they are so, they are still worthy of note and commendation, on account of their rareness. The work is distinguished also by excellences of a more positive kind. Elevated above the level of petty and narrow conceits, its positions are taken on those broad and plain common-sense grounds which the reason and conscience of man are universally obliged to recognize; and its argumentation, while it is conducted with a scope of view that reaches around to the horizon, is illustrated with clearness of thought, expressed with seriousness, and is brought home with great force. All these are marked characteristics of the work in general, and especially of that part of it which relates directly to the question of Universal Salvation. We need not attempt to give a synopsis of its argument. It is sufficient to say that the great principles of honor and of natural justice, which Dr. Beecher had so

well defined and so well vindicated as essential to the Divine Character, are here brought forth again, and set in clear light. A considerable portion of the volume is occupied with demonstrating the bearing which these principles have on the question of Endless Misery or Universal Salvation; indeed, nearly all the other topics are made subservient to this. The painful conflict which the Dr., as well as others, had found that the Orthodox system, in its present form, wages with these principles of the Divine Character, is presented anew; and the special hypothesis, to which the Dr. had recourse in order to readjust that system so as to change its offensive attitude, is not only shown to avail nothing, even if it were admitted, but is also refuted with a conclusiveness that we think can hardly be questioned.

It seems to us that an hypothesis so destitute of direct support, and so incredible in itself, as the one that Dr. Beecher had recourse to, did not greatly need to be refuted at all. So far, at least, as respects any danger of its being generally accepted, there could be no urgent call for its refutation. Be it by the instigation of the Devil, as the Dr. appears to suppose, or be it by the force of common-sense, as we are inclined to suppose, one thing is almost certain, namely, that people will not believe themselves to be ancient spirits, newly born into this world, from a pre-existent state of which they have no trace of remembrance nor hint of Revelation,—they will not believe all this, merely for the sake of clearing any theological system of its moral offences. They will sooner give up the system. This is the way the matter will work in practice, howsoever it may issue on paper. In consequence, ably as Mr. Ballou has refuted the hypothesis referred to, it is not so much on this account, as on other accounts, that we value his work. At the same time, however, it ought to be considered that, in reviewing the "Conflict of Ages," he was not at liberty to leave this, the favorite position of his author, unexamined. He was obliged, for the sake of completing his task, to bring it under discussion. And we may add, that his labor on this particular is not without its use on other accounts. Many of his arguments against a pre-existence of ours, of which we have no consciousness, have a wider application; for they are equally forcible

against a kindred hypothesis, which may be yet lingering among ourselves, that we shall hereafter be unconscious of having lived in the present world. It would seem that nothing but some course of extreme negation could ever have brought any Universalist to accept of such an hypothesis,—an hypothesis that makes our future existence, and the entire prospect of Universal Salvation, to be matters of not the least personal interest to us, or to any man living.

It is chiefly as a clear, consistent, and powerful vindication of Universalism, that we prize Mr. Ballou's work. In these respects, we have seen none that surpasses it, and few that equal it. Will it be deemed assuming on our part, if we make free to commend it to the careful attention especially of our younger brethren, as well as to the notice of the community at large? They will find the studious perusal of it to be a profitable exercise. They will be repaid, both by the light it sheds on various questions that are agitating the theological world, and by the example it presents of reasoning on the broad principles of common-sense. It is in this latter respect especially that we hope it may have a very salutary influence. We shall borrow some of its arguments in the course of our present article, though we shall not follow it into all its topics, nor confine ourselves exclusively to the ground it occupies.

Dr. Beecher's "Conflict of Ages" has been honored with a remarkable degree of attention. It has been reviewed and re-reviewed in Newspapers, Magazine Articles, Courses of Lectures, and in book-form. It has furnished a good deal of employment, and given rise to quite a little body of literature. It seems to have come down on pulpit and religious press like rain upon mown grass, as showers that water the earth in time of drought. The crop has been abundant. And of the various kinds of *critiques* that have followed it, a number quite disproportioned, we think, has come from Universalists. We must all take a turn at the book! ourselves, among the rest. Now, why do we make so much account of it, that we can not let it alone, even after it has been well disposed of? We do not say that there is any impropriety in our

paying it so great an honor; we only seek for the reason of our doing so. What is there peculiar in the book to put all our tongues and pens in motion, and to keep them in motion? The proper answer, if we mistake not, is this: The work lays bare, in the very core of our common Orthodoxy, that same intolerable conflict with the principles of Divine honor and righteousness, which had often been logically proved to exist there, but which had been as often denied. Here it is at length frankly and solemnly avowed as a fact of actual experience, and shown historically to have been a fact of experience for ages past; at the same time that it is again demonstrated logically from the nature of the case, as it had been demonstrated before. The peculiarity that renders Dr. Beecher's work more available for use, and practically more efficient, than the mere arguments which had previously appeared, is, that it comes to us in the character of a disclosure, in the character of testimony to a fact known, and grievously felt, and no longer endurable. It gives full utterance, as it were, to the groan that had long been swelling in hearts conscious of intolerable offence in their theology. Somehow and somewhere, the Creed is at war with the Divine Perfections. So much may now be regarded as fact, rather than as mere conclusion from reasoning.

We think, however, that Dr. Beecher has failed to trace the conflict home to its real seat; or rather, that he has stopped short at an incidental aggravation of it, instead of going to the source. He supposes it to originate in the present Orthodox views of total depravity at birth. He supposes that, if these views be but properly adjusted, the conflict will cease at once, though every thing else in the Creed remain as it is. Now, we are confident that any such readjustment would be found, on trial, to avail but little. It would not reach the fountain-head of the disorder, even if it dried up any of the side-streams. It is very true, that to represent our Creator as bringing us into being wholly depraved and already condemned by him, does conflict with the clearest ideas we can form of Right, whether we look forward to supervening consequences or not. If we have any reliable knowledge of moral principles, we certainly know that purposely to produce creatures thoroughly vitiated at the beginning, and yet to con-

demn them for it, is wrong in itself; and it will sit wrong upon our conscience. And then, if, to this primal wrong, it is added that these creatures, thus utterly spoiled in the making, are placed here on probation (what a mockery, in such a case!)—on probation for endless bliss or endless misery, and that some of them will in fact be punished for ever, the conflict with our sense of Right becomes aggravated to the last degree possible. But still the question is, Would it afford our moral convictions any permanent relief to rectify that doctrine of original or birth-sin, while we let the doctrine of eternal punishment stand? Clear this latter doctrine if we please of all incidental aggravations, place it in the least offensive light, yet will it not of itself still keep up the conflict with our insuppressible convictions of the Divine honor and equity? Is it really godlike to punish without mercy, and without end? Press this question steadily upon conscience, and what will conscience, after trying all subterfuges, be obliged to say? Or if it be pleaded, apologetically, that unmerciful and endless punishment will be the result, not of choice, but of necessity, on the part of the just Governor of the Universe, the question comes back, Whether it reflects the highest honor on him to have contrived the world so, and to govern it so, as eventually to render such an infliction necessary. For it should be considered that an economy, or institution, especially if it have a clear field of its own, may be dishonored by its finally resulting in irretrievable mischief, as well as by committing intentional offences. Our religious nature asks for some better issue than this, in a system and government formed by an Allwise and Almighty Ruler, with no rival power in the universe; and our sense of honorable dealing on his part refuses to admit that he brings creatures into an existence which he knows will be an infinite curse to them. Here, we think, is the real seat of the difficulty felt by Dr. Beecher and other Orthodox believers; though the trouble may have been made the more sensible to them by misadjustments in a different quarter,—just as a disease, whose seat is in the vital organs, may show its first painful symptoms in some old sore or malformed joint.

This conclusion, that here is the real seat of the difficulty, is manifestly an important one, if true. It will fix

the point on which rectification is first and most needed in the current theology. Now, our own judgment of the case may naturally be suspected of some bias from partiality in respect to our distinguishing doctrine. Let us therefore state, at considerable length, our reasons for coming to the conclusion just mentioned. We have been led to it in two ways independent of each other. First, it seems to us plain enough from the nature of the case, as we have already intimated in the preceding paragraph, to which we refer the reader. And secondly, we find, as matter of fact, that the doctrine of endless punishment is the point where the conflict has actually arisen, according to the history of religious sentiment, in all ages of the Church. We also find the same fact in explicit avowals of recent Orthodox divines. And we also think it implied, unawares, by Dr. Beecher himself, even while he was intent on fixing the source of the difficulty otherwhere. Of this last instance we are not indeed so confident, as of the two former,—the more important, because the more comprehensive, instances. But we submit to his reconsideration, whether some of his positions were not suggested and shaped by a latent consciousness that the cause of the conflict reaches further back than the common doctrine of original sin.

For example: Among the standard truths which he arrays and appeals to, as intuitively recognized by the moral judgment, is this: that the relation of God to his creatures involves obligations on his part to feel and act with an honorable regard to their true and highest good, and to be their defender, protector, and friend; that his obligations in this respect increase in proportion to his superiority over them; and that the fact of his being their Creator, so far from giving any right to disregard or undervalue their welfare, forms of itself the most touching of all appeals to his faithful care of them. Now, admitting all this, as our moral judgment must admit it, there can be no doubt with what point in the common Orthodoxy it will conflict the most directly and the most forcibly,—with the doctrine of endless punishment. With this, much more immediately, than with that of original sin. With the doctrine of original sin, it comes in conflict only at a distance, and by side-bearings. Against

the doctrine of endless punishment it presses with its whole weight; for nothing is plainer than that it is not the part of a protector, nor of a friend, nor of one who regards the true and highest welfare of his creatures, to bring them into being in certain knowledge that he shall damn them for ever, if he creates them. It seems to us hard to account for the very prominent place given in the "Conflict of Ages" to a truth that bears so obviously on this point, unless we suppose that the author "wrought better than he knew,"—that he was guided by some secret monition, some presentiment, that *here*, after all, was the seat of the conflict, from which it must be removed, or all other alleviations would be unsatisfactory. Somehow, he was led to set the natural obligations of the Creator to his creatures in full light, and in the very attitude that looks in the direction we have pointed out. To illustrate these obligations, he begins back with the universal law, which our moral nature necessarily recognizes, with respect to "the relations and obligations between "great and powerful minds, and such as are more feeble "and limited; and especially between the great self-sus- "tained Mind, and such as are inferior and dependent." Of this law, which extends to all beings, he says, "God "has made us intuitively to perceive and feel—and there- "fore he also perceives and feels—that increase of powers "to any degree of magnitude produces, not a decrease, "but an increase of obligation to feel and act benevolent- "ly towards inferiors; that is, with an honorable regard "to their true and highest good." "No moral princi- "ples," he justly adds, "are recognized as true with a "clearer and more absolute intuition than those which I "have now stated." And then, applying these principles to the case in hand, he proceeds, "If therefore God gives "existence to inferior and dependant minds, is he, the "Infinite Father,—can he be—under any other or differ- "ent obligations? Does he desire us to think of him as "not tenderly affected, and not bound by the appeal "made to him by a new-created mind, in view of the "fearful eternity that spreads out before him, so to exert "his infinite powers, and so to order his infinite example, "as shall most entirely promote his [the creature's] eter- "nal good? Does not every intuitive conviction, every

" honorable impulse of a benevolent mind, call for such " an assurance concerning God, in order to be satisfied " with his character ? Is not this the dividing line between " the divine and the satanic spirit ? . . . . Does any one " allege his right, as creator, to do as he will with his " creatures ? Within certain limits, he has this right. But " creation gives no right to the creator to disregard or to " undervalue the well-being of his creatures, or to treat " them contrary to the laws of their intellectual, moral, " and voluntary nature, on the ground that he created " them. *It is not enough to say, that, as he would treat " them if he had not made them, so ought he now to treat " them.* On the other hand, the fact that he created them, " makes the most touching of all appeals to every princi- " ple of honor and right in the Almighty Creator to be " their defender, protector, and friend." (*Conflict of Ages, pp.* 28–33.) Great truths, nobly stated ! and brought out in other passages of his work with a fulness, and a power, that show how clearly they had been unfolded in his mind. Whether, at the same time, he saw distinctly what bearings they have on the doctrine of endless punishment, is perhaps uncertain. Intent as he was on their remoter relations to the subject of original sin, it is possible that he was but half-observant of their nearer bearings, which lay so much more obvious before him. Though, what can be more unmistakeable than the point on which his luminous and felicitously discriminative suggestion throws its light: " It is not enough to say, that, as he would treat them if *he* had not made them, so ought he now to treat them. On the other hand, the fact that *he* created them, makes the most touching of all appeals to every principle of honor and right in the Almighty Creator to be their defender, protector, and friend." We submit, under correction, that he did not wholly overlook the significance of truths thus clearly defined. Be this, however, as it may, one thing is evident: Were the question concerning original sin all adjusted in complete harmony with these great truths, so that neither he nor any body else should apprehend any more trouble on this one point, it would very soon be felt on all hands that nothing had been accomplished towards settling the " conflict of *ages,*" *so long* as that other doctrine were still retained

which stands the most directly at war with the principles he has illustrated.

How clearly or how dimly soever Dr. Beecher perceived the real point of conflict, other distinguished Orthodox divines have been at no loss with respect to it. Let us look at a few instances of the kind. The testimony of the Rev. Albert Barnes is well known; but it deserves to be repeated, for the weight it derives from his personal character, as well as for its obvious truthfulness. "That "any," says he, "should suffer for ever, lingering on in "hopeless despair, and rolling amidst infinite torments "without the possibility of alleviation and without end; "that, since God *can* save men, and *will* save a part, he "has not purposed to save *all;* that, on the supposition "that the atonement is ample, and that the blood of Christ "can save from all and every sin, it is not in fact applied "to all; that, in a word, God, who claims to be worthy "of the confidence of the Universe, and to be a being of "infinite benevolence, should make such a world as this, "full of sinners and sufferers, and that, when an atone- "ment had been made, he did not save all the race and "put an end to sin and woe for ever, ... I have "read to some extent what wise and good men have writ- "ten. I have looked at their theories and explanations. "I have endeavored to weigh their arguments; for my "whole soul pants for light and relief on these questions. "But I get neither; and in the distress and anguish of "my own spirit, I confess that I find no light whatever. "I see not one ray to disclose to me the reason why sin "came into the world; why the earth is strewed with the "dying and the dead; and why man must suffer to all "eternity. I never have seen a particle of light thrown "on these subjects that has given a moment's ease to my "tortured mind, nor have I an explanation to offer, or a "thought to suggest, which would be of relief to you. I "trust that other men, as they profess to do, understand "this better than I do, and that they have not the anguish "of spirit which I have. But I confess, that when I look "on a world of sinners and sufferers; upon death-beds "and grave-yards; upon the world of woe, filled with "hosts to suffer for ever; when I see my friends, my "parents, my family, my people, my fellow-citizens,—

" when I look upon a whole race, all involved in this sin " and danger, and when I see the great mass of them " wholly unconcerned, and when I feel that God only " can save them, and yet he does not do it,—I am struck " dumb. It is all dark, dark, dark to my soul, and I " cannot disguise it." (*Practical Sermons, pp.* 123–125.)

We think no one can read this confession without feeling that the terrible conflict it describes is the central one, and that all other discords between Orthodoxy and our moral convictions are but secondary. It is to the same quarter also that the late Professor Stuart refers, as the seat of fearful difficulties that agitate the breast like a storm; though he claims to be, on the whole, unshaken by them, trusting that they will be cleared away in eternity. Having spoken of many serious Christians, both lay and clerical, who are unable to suppress doubts of endless punishment, when they consider that God is good to all, that He knew before he created men what their final state would be if he should bring them into existence, that the sins of mortals are but temporary and finite, and therefore do not deserve a punishment without end, that it is inconceivable how the saints themselves can be happy hereafter if some of their dearest kindred and friends shall be tormented for ever,—having spoken, we say, of those who stumble at these considerations, the Professor remarks: " If there are any whose breasts are " strangers to such difficulties as these, they are to be con- " gratulated on having made attainments almost beyond " the reach of humanity in the present world; or else to " be pitied for ignorance, or the want of a sympathy which " seems to be among the first elements of our social na- " ture. With the great mass of thinking Christians I am " sure such thoughts must, unhappily for them, be ac- " quaintances too familiar. That they agitate our breasts " as storms do the mighty deep, will be testified by every " man of a tender heart, and who has a deep concern in " the present and future welfare of those whom he loves. " It would seem to be from such considerations, and the " like to these, that a belief in a *future* repentance and " recovery of sinners has become so wide-spread in Ger- " many, pervading even the ranks of those who are regar- " ded as serious and evangelical men in respect to most

"or all of what is called Orthodox doctrine, saving the "point before us. Such was the case, also, with some of "the ancient fathers; and such is doubtless the case with "not a few in our day, who are far removed from noisy "and obtrusive sectarianism, and who do not even ven- "ture positively to assert and maintain the modified doc- "trine of universal salvation, namely, the *final* restoration "of all to divine favor, after punishment and repentance." (*Biblical Repository, for July*, 1840, pp. 20, 21, *comp.* 19, 34, 35.) Such are the distressing perplexities that arise, in the bosom of Orthodoxy, from the apparent inconsistency of the doctrine of endless punishment with divine goodness, with divine honor, and with divine justice, as well as with the demands of our social nature. It is important to observe that they are all of a moral kind,—perplexities that confound our moral sense, in distinction from those that only puzzle our intellect; and therefore they are the more intolerable. This peculiarity should be kept in mind throughout the whole discussion. It is also worthy of remark that the Professor, like Mr. Barnes, appears to have no hope that these difficulties in the Creed can ever be explained in this life. They are too obviously insolvable for the present. And if it is true, as the Professor supposes it to be, that they are deeply felt by "the great mass of thinking Christians" among the Orthodox, we may here dispense with further citation of the facts on which we proposed to rest our conclusion; for his statement furnishes us with all that are requisite,—shows us the extent to which the conflict actually prevails upon this point.

We may mention the celebrated John Foster among unexceptionable witnesses in the case. For notwithstanding that he had already discarded the doctrine of endless punishment, yet the moral difficulties which he had found it to involve, and which compelled him to abandon it, are acknowledged by "the great mass of thinking" and candid believers themselves to be real. Nor can it, with any appearance of truth, be denied that his exposition of the matter exemplifies the way in which the tenet naturally works in the mind of a thoroughly religious and intelligent man who still holds it. "I acknowledge," says he, "I "acknowledge myself not convinced of the Orthodox

"doctrine [of endless punishment.] If asked *why* not, I "should have little to say in the way of criticism, of impli- "cations found or sought in what may be called inciden- "tal expressions of Scripture, or of passages dubiously "cited in favor of final universal restitution. It is the "*moral* argument, as it may be named, that presses irre- "sistibly on my mind,—that which comes in the stupen- "dous idea of eternity! It appears to me that the teach- "ers and believers of the Orthodox doctrine hardly ever "make an earnest strenuous effort to form a conception "of eternity, or rather a conception of the nature of a "faint incipient approximation. Because it is confessedly "beyond the compass of thought, it is suffered to go with- "out an attempt at thinking of it. They utter the term "in the easy currency of language, have a vague and "transitory idea of something obscurely vast, and do not "labor to place and detain the mind in intense protracted "contemplation." After imagining ages by the million, and these multiplied by a circle of figures reaching round the compass of the material universe, he says, "But *end-* "*less* punishment! hopeless misery through a duration to "which the enormous terms above imagined will be abso- "lutely *nothing!* I acknowledge my inability (I would "say it reverently,) to admit this belief together with a "belief in the Divine Goodness,—the belief that God is "love, that his tender mercies are over all his works." Again: "A common argument has been that sin is an "*infinite* evil, that is, of infinite demerit, as an offence "against an infinite Being; and that, since a finite crea- "ture can not suffer infinitely *in measure*, he must *in* "*duration*. But surely, in all reason, the limited, and in "the present instance diminutive, nature of the criminal "must be an essential part of the case for judgment. "Every act must, for one of its proportions, be measured "by the nature and condition of the agent. . . . . Can "we (I would say with reverence,)—can we realize it as "possible that a lost soul, after countless millions of ages, "and in prospect of an interminable succession of such "enormous periods, can be made to have the conviction, "absolute and perfect, that all this is a *just*, an *equitable* "infliction, (and from a Power as *good* as he is just,) for "a few short sinful years on earth? . . . . But it is usu-

" ally alleged that there will be an endless *continuance* of " sinning, with probably an endless aggravation; and " *therefore* the punishment must be endless. Is not this " like an admission of disproportion between the punish- " ment and the *original cause* of its infliction? But sup- " pose the case to be so,—that is to say, that the punish- " ment is not a retribution *simply* for the guilt of the mo- " mentary existence on earth, but a continued punishment " of the continued ever-aggravated guilt in the eternal " state: the allegation is of no avail in vindication of the " doctrine, because the first consignment to the dreadful " state necessitates the continuance of the criminality,— " the doctrine teaching that it is of the essence, and is an " awful aggravation, of the original consignment, *that it* " *dooms the condemned to maintain the criminal spirit un-* " *changed for ever.* The doom to *sin* as well as to suffer, " (and according to the argument, to sin *in order* to suffer,) " is inflicted as the punishment of the sin committed in the " mortal state." (*Sheppard's Life and Correspondence of John Foster, Letter* 226.)[1]

In the course of his Letter, and indeed in various letters, Mr. Foster alludes to other points in the common belief, by way of heightening the apparent cruelty and injustice of the case, and in order to set the subject in the strongest light with the friends to whom he was writing. The passages, however, that we have quoted, are those in which he states his primary or central objections. From them we see *where* it was that the moral difficulty pressed in his experience, that is, against the Divine Goodness, and equally against the Divine Justice,—where it likewise presses in the experience of " the great mass of thinking Christians." It may be aggravated, possibly mitigated also, by accessory considerations; but the very idea of endless punishment, in whatsoever form it be proposed, necessarily rouses this conflict in proportion as its moral bearings become clearly developed in the human conscience. So long as that doctrine is retained, no explan-

[1] We wish that this Letter of John Foster were more generally circulated. To disciplined thinkers, it presents the "*moral* argument" with a force seldom equalled. The anonymous pamphlet, in which it was republished, at Boston, a few years ago, contains important matter that should accompany the Letter. Why not reprint it, for distribution?

ations, no apologetical hypotheses even, can avail towards effecting peace; if they sometimes bring about a truce, it is an unquiet truce, and lasts only while the obvious relations of the subject are kept out of mind. We see this in the examples of Mr. Barnes, Professor Stuart, and "the great mass of thinking Christians" to whom the latter refers. The one, after reading what wise and good men have said in explanation, has "never seen a particle of light thrown on these subjects, that has given a moment's ease to his tortured mind;" the other looks only to eternity for the clearing up of the questions that "agitate the breast as storms do the mighty deep." And that we have not misrepresented the case in relation to the experience of others, and indeed in relation to *general* experience, is evident from the whole history of attempts at explaining, or vindicating, the moral propriety of endless punishment. It is enough just to call over the pleas that have been commonly resorted to for the purpose: such as, that God has a sovereign right to do as he may please,—or, to make any wrong right; that our sins are infinite, because committed against an infinite Being; that the endless misery of a part is necessary to the greatest good of the whole; that, having enacted such a penalty [*with clear foresight? or inconsiderately?*], God is now obliged to execute it; that, having decreed [*with clear foresight? or inconsiderately?*] the end of life to be the end of our chance for repentance and mercy, he is therefore obliged to cast those off for ever who die impenitent; that sin on the part of the creature annuls all obligation on the part of his Creator to be merciful to him,—in other words, that there is no such thing as obligation to be merciful to a sinner; that it is mercy, amazing mercy, to create the souls of reprobates or finally impenitents, to give them a probation, and to furnish them with abundant means of grace,—notwithstanding it was absolutely known, all the while, that every step in the process would turn to their immortal wretchedness. Now, what do such arguings indicate? To what extremity must the mind be pushed for explanations, to take up with these! In recapitulating them, we have here and there thrown in a suggestion, illustrative of their real purport; but, taking them with or without the illustrations, it can hardly be needful to say that they are not

reasons. They are only such pleas as men are driven to in desperate cases, and that serve only to betray the moral conflict within; pleas, founded on factitious premises, and on monstrous perversions of all moral principle. They never can reach the inherent sense of Right in the human heart; they never can satisfy the conscience; at the most, they can only mystify the brain. All the argumentations that we have ever seen or heard used for the purpose, serve but to show how hopeless is the attempt to bring the doctrine of endless punishment into conscious harmony with the Divine attributes. We have long regarded it as one evidence, among others, of a wide-reaching vision in Mr. Barnes and Professor Stuart, that they are wary of these futile pleas, and attempt no solution of the moral difficulties that oppress them.[2] They see that it is better, that it is less harassing to the conscience, to offer nothing, than to offer the pretexts which are usually brought forward.

The avowals which we have quoted of recent Orthodox divines are to be regarded only as specimens, though choice specimens indeed, of a class. The *general history* of religious sentiment, also, is to the same purport. As we have said, it shows that the doctrine of endless punishment is the point around which the "great conflict" has always prevailed, in ancient and in modern ages of the Church. We still mean the *moral* conflict; that of the heart with the Creed,—such as marks the particular case of which Dr. Beecher treats. By the way, it should be observed that the most of the formal and public controversies, which have agitated Christendom, were of the metaphysical or speculative kind, as on the Trinity, Transubstantiation, and on various questions of systematic theology; or they related to the form, authority, or abuse of ecclesiastical institutions, or to the need of general reformations in doctrine and life. All these we pass by. Our business, at present, is only with the conflict that has existed between

[2] It is true that Prof. Stuart suggests that such a remedy may, *hereafter*, be applied to our social and sympathetic nature, as will enable us to contemplate the endless misery of our dearest kindred and friends, without being disturbed, (pp. 34, 35.) But with respect to this, and all other points of difficulty, he neither proposes nor affects to propose any remedy that is *at present* available.

the inherent sense of Right, in the Christian world, and the received forms of belief. Now, from the very earliest times, the ecclesiastical Creed has been shaped and developed by the intellect and imagination, almost to the exclusion of the moral judgment,—certainly without allowing the latter its requisite share in the work. The products have been such as might be expected; that is, they were often repugnant to the neglected element of our nature which had been allowed so little part in the making of them. Accordingly we find, from the middle of the second century downwards, a discord frequently appearing between the moral sense of the believers, and the tenets of their faith. Generally speaking, they argue resolutely enough for the latter; but here and there a protest from their deeper moral instincts escapes, either in the way of confession, or of desperate apology, or of misgiving, with respect to the offensive tenet, and not seldom in the way of setting it aside for a better. Now, let the student of the ancient Fathers mark these significant indications as they occur in his reading, and he will detect, among the early Christians, the same moral conflict, though in a less degree, that now prevails, with respect to endless punishment. This is no place to write the history of the matter. We have room, at present, only to indicate the way in which the fact may be ascertained. It should be added, as another significant circumstance, that, at first, the doctrine in question was held so loosely, and probably so vaguely, that several of the very earliest Fathers could recede from it into that of annihilation, whenever they had occasion to mitigate its offensiveness. This was the case with Justin Martyr, Tatian, and even Irenæus. And then again, many of the most distinguished doctors of the Church, from the end of the second century to the beginning of the fifth century, adopted the doctrine of the final salvation of all. Of these let it be observed, as pertinent to the principle we are illustrating, that it appears, from the manner in which they treat this doctrine, that they were led to it by their strong moral convictions of the goodness, honor, and justice of God, as well as by the disclosures which the Scriptures give of universal salvation. After their day, the doctrine continued to break out in the Church, from time to time, down to the era of

the Reformation, notwithstanding its general suppression, as a heresy, by the supposed decree of an infallible General Council.[3] If we look at the period since the Reformation, the history of the "great conflict" during these ages may be seen condensed in its result: Every Protestant country in the world has silently gravitated away from the fastenings of its ecclesiastical Creed towards Universalism; and, in every case, the tendency has been determined by the strength of moral convictions respecting the goodness, honor, and justice of God. In Germany, the Protestant divines, even the Evangelical portion of them, have been generally brought over to a belief in the final salvation of all. This is likewise the case, to an almost equal degree, in Sweden, Switzerland, including Calvin's own city of Geneva, and in France. In Great Britain, a state of things partially similar came to light in the World's Convention of the Evangelical Alliance, a few years ago, and in the disclosures that followed. And no well-informed and observant person can doubt that, in the United States, especially at the North, the tendency is in the same direction among "the great mass of thinking Christians" of every denomination. Let us here repeat that, in all these cases, the movement has been produced, obviously, by the struggle of moral convictions,—by their ever-renewed protest against the principles involved in the doctrine of endless punishment, and by their demand that the goodness, honor, and justice of God should be allowed their proper scope. The significance of this fact is immense. It shows that the moral nature of man, especially as developed by the spirit of the gospel, can not help taking a stand on the question; and that, until the Creed be harmonized on this point with our intuitive sense of goodness, honor, and equity, the "great conflict" must go on.

We know not how we can better illustrate the law, or rule, which the moral judgment recognizes in regard to

[3] The Fifth General Council at Constantinople, A. D. 553. For a long time, this Council had the credit of the Acts by which the doctrine of universal salvation was condemned, and its believers anathematized. At present it seems more probable that these Acts were passed only by the provincial Council under Mennas, A. D. 540, and that they afterwards got mixed with the documents of the Fifth General Council.

the subject, than by quoting from the work mentioned at the head of this article. Mr. Ballou proposes to take into view the entire range of the Divine economy, so far as our limited faculties will allow us to do it. "Let us," says he, "trace each step of the great Divine process, and endeavor to estimate it in the light of" the moral principles which Dr. Beecher had vindicated.

"In the first place, let us apply this rule to the *act of creation.* No portion of God's economy involved more serious and important considerations than this. In fact, every thing subsequent to this was wrapped up in it as in a germ, and must spring forth from it, taking its entire complexion from this source. I allude here, of course, especially to human existence, and every thing essentially connected with it, or bearing upon its interests. *The conferring of this existence was God's own free act*, and if ever any act of His demanded imperatively the deliberate and faithful guidance of these high moral principles, it must have been the solemn act of creating man.

In regard to all the other forms of being around us, animate and inanimate, except so far as these were intimately connected with human interests and welfare, it was comparatively unimportant. Though we could not reconcile ourselves to the thought that there was any actual injustice, or even want of goodness, here; that the Divine benevolence had overlooked even the meanest of his creatures, and given the worm, or the reptile, or the lowest thing which crawls, an existence which was positively worse than non-existence; still, these, so far as we are informed, have no immortality before them; no infinite interests therefore at stake. With man, the case was a different one. He was to be made an immortal being. Interests which it is beyond the power of words to express, or finite minds fully to grasp, even, were directly involved in the Divine determination to create him. All which was valuable to him in the present, or dear to him in the interminable future, rested wholly upon this previous Divine decision.

Must we not, therefore—can we, indeed, do otherwise than suppose, that, in view of these solemn realities, the Supreme Being would not allow himself to vary a hair's breadth from the most sacred regard to these principles? 'In this wide universe,' says Dr. Beecher, (p. 481,) 'no thought is so affecting as to exist for eternity, and to be called on, in a relatively brief time of trial, to decide the character of that eternity.'

How it pains our highest conceptions to attempt to embrace, in all their magnitude, the results which were to hinge entirely on the act of creating man! And here, in regard to the previous Divine decision that man should exist, I wish, more than in reference to all

things else, to apply the great moral rule with which our author has supplied us. He gives us an extract from the diary of John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, and of whom he says that 'though but a youth, he writes with strong common sense, and with the clearness and force that distinguished his maturer years;' and which I wish to introduce here. It gives a legal form and power to the argument of which I wish to avail myself. The sentiment, though not uttered with direct reference to the point before us now, is clearly applicable to it, and comes to the reason with all the force of a moral axiom. 'If one man or being,' says Mr. Adams, 'out of pure generosity and without any expectation of returns, is about to confer any favor or emolument upon another, he has a right and is at liberty to choose in what manner and by what means to confer it. He may confer the favor by his own hand, or by the hand of his servant; and the obligation to gratitude is equally strong upon the benefited being. The mode of bestowing does not diminish the kindness, provided the commodity or good is brought to us equally perfect, and without our expense.

'But, on the other hand, if one being is the *original cause* of pain, sorrow, or suffering to another, *voluntarily*, and without provocation, it is injurious to that other, whatever means he might employ, and whatever circumstances the conveyance of the injury might be attended with.' (p. 118.)

Now in fair view of all these facts and suggestions, and with the Doctor's great moral rule in our hands, let us attend to that grand session of the Divine attributes in council when the determination was formed, and the resolution passed to *create man.* Let us go back in imagination to that exciting moment. It matters not, to my present purpose, *when* this period might have been. We may say that it occurred but just previously to the formation of Adam, or thousands of years prior to this, as Dr. Beecher supposes. It is enough for us now to suppose that there actually was such a period, and that God was equally as just and honorable and benevolent at that time as he ever was, or ever will be; or, indeed, as it is possible for infinite perfections to render him. Man has, at this period, no existence. All the elements which were to constitute him slumbered in their primeval condition. Even the determination to create him has not yet become matured.

Now as the creature was not consulted in regard to this matter at all, and indeed could not be, as his existence, if he had any, was to be *enforced* upon him, without reference to what might be his choice, could he have an opportunity to express it,—but *wholly as an act of the Divine will;*—I ask, with all the solemnity which such a question can inspire, what does the *rule* given us demand in this case? Let there be no dodging here. Let the question be looked fairly and fully in the face and candidly answered.

Does not the *rule* imperatively require in this case that human existence, if enforced at all, should be, to *each* and *every individual*, when taken *as a whole*, a good, and not an evil; a blessing, and not a curse?

I hardly need to say, what must be, to the mind of every ingenuous reader, so very plainly perceived, that every thing of most importance to my own views is directly involved in this question. True, I have yet to apply this same *rule* still further—to the entire process of the Divine economy—as I have already intimated. But what will it all avail, if I am not secure in my position here?

If I may not be certain, beyond the possibility of question, that the Supreme Being, in this most important of all His acts concerning us,—namely, the decision to give us existence at all, or otherwise—was sacredly obedient to the high moral principles of His nature, what need is there that we should talk any more about the matter? Why go on and apply them, or pretend that they ought to be applied, to what are comparatively minor particulars of His government? If the *Rule* we are using is not wholly a false one, unworthy of a moment's thought even, except to be condemned and repudiated entirely, *why* shall it not be applied here, rigidly and faithfully and logically? If there is an attempt to modify it, or evade its full force in this case, in the name of reason let it never be resorted to again any where. If it is true or good at all, it is wholly applicable to the question before us. I ask, then, whether the creator had any *right* to enforce a *being* upon us which should not be on the whole really better than *no being*,—to compel an *existence* that should not be preferable as a whole to *non-existence*?

I will not say that we should be very careful how we answer this question, notwithstanding its infinite importance, for there seems to be but one answer that is possible in the case. If God took human spirits from non-existence, so to speak, and enforced existence upon them, without their knowledge or consent, but from the exercise of His own free will alone, then He was bound by all the most sacred principles of honor and justice, as well as benevolence, to make that existence on the whole a blessing. I say, *on the whole*, because I regard this qualifying phrase as very necessary.

I can easily see how, from a variety of causes, either from a necessity existing in the very nature of things; and which even infinite wisdom and power could not control, or springing from His own infinite discernment of what was fittest and best, all things being fully considered, He should voluntarily select a plan of existence for us, some of the features of which, when taken separate and alone, should appear defective, and which would really be so if they existed alone. Thus, if it was clearly apparent to the Divine mind that it would certainly secure the best good of each and every individual *in the end, to* give them any kind of existence, moral or otherwise, or to

endow them in any peculiar way, or place them in any condition involving sin and suffering or *trial* for a season, it would be plainly consistent with his moral character and perfections to do so. But then, there must be this absolute certainty in His own mind to begin with—namely, that this *good end* in the case of each individual should be finally attained. There should be no infinite hazard introduced here. Any latitude short of this might be safely allowed to Him. The pendulum in its swing might touch the poles, even, if it only settled at the equator at last. Or, as the musical composer is freely indulged with the introduction of discords—*ad libitum*—into his finest compositions, if he only ends in harmony with the key-note; so the Divine Being might, wholly consistently with His perfections, allow of any conceivable amount of moral or physical evil, if the highest spiritual and immortal interests of each individual in His creation were previously secured by His foresight. All the pains of this mortal life, augmented a thousand-fold even, might be piled heaven-high upon each human head, and still justice look serenely on, and benevolence smile at it, and honor be fully satisfied with it, if it were clearly and definitely seen by these perfections that the highest and best ends which they could seek or ask for, were only *certain* of attainment by each individual in the end. Because, in this case, existence, *as a whole*, would be a good, an infinite good; and this is all which they could really require.

'The *mode* of bestowing,' says President Adams, in language already quoted, 'does not diminish the kindness, provided the commodity or good is brought to us equally perfect.' It is not the peculiar *process* by which we are to judge of the Divine economy, but of the character of the *end* had in view. If this is only sufficiently good and noble, and certain to be attained, infinite wisdom may arrange the details of the process as seems to it fittest and best. But *the end* proposed must be wholly secure before the Divine forces could move the first step in creating men consistently with the great moral Rule which we have been considering.

If there were any insurmountable obstacles in the way of attaining this end, certainly the creator must have foreseen them. Thus, if the kind of existence which he proposed to himself for man was beset with such difficulties as he could not control or overrule, the facts must have been all present to his fore-knowledge, and in this case the highest obligations of His nature bound Him to have left them uncreated, or to have given them a different state. Surely, He was under the pressure of no foreign necessity. He was not compelled to create men at all. If it were done, it must be from his own free choice, deliberately made and voluntarily executed.

No shuffling of terms can shut this fact from sight. In creating man, the Divine Being acted wholly as he preferred to act. Seeing

'the end from the beginning,' and with a full and clear comprehension of the entire whole which man would ever *be* or *do* or *suffer*, He deliberately *chose this existence for us in preference to non-existence*, and this He could not have done honorably unless it was positively certain to His mind that this existence *as a whole* was better than non-existence.

It will be observed that I have been careful to specify, not only that human existence, as a whole, shall be good, in order to justify the creative act, but that this shall be the case also in reference to *each individual* of the race. Justice and right have no regard to numbers. For God, to confer a good upon a thousand, would not justify Him in conferring an absolute evil upon fifty, or even upon one individual. The great Rule of Divine rectitude is required to be applied just as sincerely and just as fully to the fifty, or to the one, as though there were no other beings in the universe. And if it would be inconsistent with that rule to give an existence to all men, which it was known would prove an infinite curse to them all, then would it be equally inconsistent to give such an existence to any one individual. It is not the number to whom it is given which makes the act wrong, but the simple fact that the gift is, on the whole, *an evil*, and not a good. This would make the wrong the same in principle whether there were one individual or millions.

I would call especial attention to this consideration, from the fact that most orthodox writers, and our author also, if I understand him, seem to take it for granted that any plan or process which eventuates in the final good of the greater portion of mankind, is perfectly right and just, although the final and infinite loss of the remainder is clearly contemplated and foreseen by it. Thus, it fully justifies the Divine character in Dr. Beecher's view, for God to give men the ability to determine their own ultimate fate by their own free will, if it be seen that a very large proportion of them in the exercise of this ability will finally secure their own highest welfare, even though the remainder utterly perish.

This infinite risk must be hazarded. It is necessary to the final good of those who are saved; and the attainment of this end by the saved justifies the *plan*, though the rest are lost. It is worse than useless here to go talking about the *merits* of these lost individuals, and how they *deserved* to be damned, and actually chose it out of their own free will. This is pushing into the discussion entirely another matter, and one wholly foreign to the question now at issue. I will attend to this matter in its proper place, but I will not consent to have it thrust in here where it evidently does not belong. It is not the moral character of *man* that we are discussing, but the moral character of *God*, and I do not wish to have attention diverted from this true issue until it is fully disposed of. The real question

before us is, can the Divine Being, consistently with the great moral rule which we are applying to him, adopt a *plan of existence* for us, which contemplates *as one of its foreseen results* the infliction of an *infinite curse* upon even *one* individual? It is a question as to what *He* should do, not as to what man may come to deserve after he is created. At the period to which the question points us, there was no such thing as man existing. And the question is, shall he exist at all, and if so, *how*, and under what circumstances? It has reference to the *Divine free will*, and not to the human free will. And I claim that, in this case, the Divine rectitude is violated if such a plan of existence is freely chosen as contemplates the infinite loss of a single human soul.

And it does not help the matter in the least to say that the plan was called for by the best good of all the rest, even. Does equity or honor allow of the sacrifice of one to the interests of any number, even, when all occupy a common ground of equality in the beginning? And it is evident that prior to their creation they did all stand alike. No one could be rightfully preferred to another in the Divine mind, and the laws that bound him to make existence (in case he gave it) a good to any, equally bound him to make it, on the whole, a good to each and every individual of the race.

I would ask any good man—I would respectfully ask Dr. Beecher —whether, in case the question were submitted to him, he would accept of an existence for himself, however high or great or glorious it might promise to be, if he knew, at the same time, that it was purchased by a hazard which would prove fatal, infinitely fatal, to a single human soul? For myself, I ask no such existence. I should scorn to take it if it were offered to me. Nay, I should loathe the intense selfishness which would make me hesitate in this case!

Equally confident am I that his decision would be the same if the offer were made to himself. He might feel that God had 'redeemed and regenerated him; but this gives him no relief.' 'His distress is not on his own account.' 'He feels as if he could not be bribed by the offer of all the honors of the universe to pretend to worship or praise a God whose character he cannot defend.' Such is his own confession. And while it does honor to his own soul, it shows that he would never be willing to accept an existence for himself purchased by the adoption of a Divine plan in which infinite ruin was foreseen as the result to a single human soul.

The following facts, then, seem to be fully substantiated:

1. Inasmuch as God deliberately chose for man an existence, preferring it to non-existence for him; and inasmuch as he is just and good in all things, this existence must be a blessing. Men, therefore, never were exposed to infinite or endless hell-torments.

2. This principle here adopted as a rule for the Divine guidance,

does not forbid him to permit any amount of finite evil or suffering, because existence would be, even then, an infinite good, as a whole.

3. No plan of existence could be rightfully adopted which clearly contemplated the final ruin of even a single soul, although such plan might appear to secure the best interests of the great body."

As to what is often alleged respecting "the greatest good of the whole," we wish to offer a few remarks, though the subject is perhaps already well enough disposed of by Mr. Ballou's suggestions, and by his appeal to the practical decision which conscience gives of the case. One of the most favorite pleas to excuse the infliction of endless punishment, is, that it may be requisite to the greatest good of the whole. Who knows, it is asked, how many orders of beings there are above us and below us? or how they may be affected by exhibitions of the Divine government in us? It may be that they, or some of them, need an example of infinite or eternal penalty for sin, to illustrate the awful sacredness of God's law, or at least in some unknown way to maintain the harmonious relations of the Universe. Here, let us observe that this does not claim to be more than bare hypothesis; we do not recollect to have seen any attempt to make out, or to specify, such a need,—except by President Edwards, whose abominable specification will probably never be repeated again. The hypothesis is, that, for all we know, there *may* be such a need, though we can not see it; and that we therefore are not competent to say that the infliction of endless punishment is inconsistent with Divine goodness, since there is a possibility of its being necessary to the highest interest of the whole,—which highest interest of the whole, it is added, is the grand object sought by perfect goodness. Now, this plea, mere hypothesis as it is, rests only on an inaccuracy in popular use of language; an inaccuracy which does no harm when it is employed about any whole that is *personally* identical, but which misleads on the very point essential to the present case. The greatest good of the *whole*, or of the *Universe*, is what the plea proposes; and, strange to say! proposes with the sole purpose of excluding a *part* of the whole, a *part* of the Universe, from all share in that good,—for it will not be pretended that they who suffer endless

punishment get any of the good. Of course, what is here called the whole, or the Universe, is neither; it is only a part, though perhaps the far greater part. And the hypothesis, when correctly stated, is this: that the endless punishment of a part may be necessary for the highest good of the other part, say the greatest part; and that the good of this greatest part only is what perfect goodness seeks, at the infinite expense of the smaller part. How does the plea stand, now that it is uncovered of its disguise?

We should not have meddled with such a verbal inaccuracy, were it not for the confusion of moral principle which it happens to involve in the case before us. In other cases, a similar form of language may lead to no error of thought. We say, for example, that the greatest good of our existence, as a whole, may be the best attained through our experience of some evil in the earlier part of it. And here, no mistake of the real meaning is occasioned, because there is the same *personal identity* throughout the part and the whole; the same conscious being who suffers the evil receives also the good derived therefrom. But to group a Universe of creatures into two classes, calling the greater class the *whole*, and promoting its good by the irremediable sufferings of the smaller class,—this is another affair altogether, differing to the very bottom in principle. It is not mere void abstractions, such as "class," "part," or "whole," that goodness, honor, and equity have to do with; it is with the *individual persons*, who fill those otherwise empty categories.

Among particular topics, discussed at considerable length in Mr. Ballou's work, there is one of greatest importance to all the relations of practical life, as well as to the whole body of religious doctrine; we mean, the moral obligation to feel for sinners and to seek their real good. Were we to select the point on which the saddest confusion of thought commonly prevails, we should fix on this. It seems that Dr. Beecher himself, who has placed the general principle in so clear a light, falls at times into forgetfulness of it, while attempting to justify the infliction of endless punishment. He endeavors to set eternal retribution on such a ground as that "no moral sympathy shall react against it."

"It is really worth the price of his book to know how this feat is accomplished. The tricks of Blitz and Anderson are mere clumsy performances when compared with it. His position is as follows:

All sin springs from selfishness, as its root. Selfishness leads to cruelty. This is its essential character. Now, to defeat cruel purposes, which is done in punishing the guilty, shocks no benevolent feeling, because a deep 'christian experience so reveals the malignant nature of sin, as to throw it out of the pale of lawful sympathy.' 'To punish it, implies in God no cruelty, but the reverse.' The reader may be tempted to ask here, ... whether it is the *sin only* that is thrown out of the pale of lawful sympathy—or *the sinner?* True, the question, if fairly considered, may show that the plausible phraseology quoted means little more than the '*presto—change*' of the magician. But it will intrude itself; and is, perhaps, not wholly undeserving of an answer. If our author refers only to the former—if he means to say, as a strictly grammatical construction of his language might allow, that it was the *sin* alone which was undeserving of sympathy, I have no particular objection to urge against it. It would hardly be expected, I presume, by any one, that wickedness itself would excite much sympathy except from totally depraved and vicious minds; but there might be a difficulty in perceiving how sin, if thus impersonal, could be punished. At any rate, if it can be, even let it be, as long and as severely as is thought proper. No pious minds will be much excited about it in this case. But, if he refers to the latter, at the same time,—if he wishes us to understand that the *sinner*, as well as the sin, is of so malignant a character as to throw *him*, as well as it, without the lawful pale of sympathy,—then the *ruse* in the terms is very apparent. By choosing a form of expression which throws the person of the sinner out of sight, and brings the sin, as the only prominent thought, before the mind alone, a virtuous indignation is easily excited, and no sympathies awakened to react against it. A very clever performance, truly!

But, seriously,—for the subject demands it—is it—*can* it be possible that a good christian clergyman should talk of the sinner as being without the proper pale of sympathy? What, pray, is he himself doing daily—aye, nightly, to some extent, I doubt not? What—except toiling, praying, taxing soul and heart and brain, to their utmost powers, to save *sinners?* Is not his life consecrated to this work? And are not his affections, and all the better elements of his being, absorbed in devotion to it? Does he not love—not his sins—but the *sinner?* Does he not feel for him pity, compassion, tenderness, and sympathy? Dare he affirm that he feels nothing of this kind? Or, if he does, that it is wrong to do so? Or, would he claim that these are merely human feelings, common to the present state, indeed, but to be gotten rid of before we enter within view

of the world of woe hereafter? . . . . I cannot believe that he would really intend to assert this. I will not believe it; and I am justified in this position, not only by the fact that his whole earthly being is consecrated to labors for the sinful, but from the indirect declaration that it is godlike and proper to be actuated by a warm benevolence towards them.

He represents it as a demand of the highest moral principles, that God should not only be freed from the charge of dishonorably ruining men, but should be exhibited also 'as earnestly and benevolently engaged in *efforts for their salvation*, through Christ, after they have been ruined by their own fault.' (p. 17.) Of course, then, the more warm and active his own benevolence towards the lost may be, the more does he resemble the Divine beneficence and love.

The sinner beyond the pale of sympathy! And yet, God so loved the world, even when it was dead in trespasses and sins, as to send His own Son to die for it! . . . . The sinner without the pale of sympathy! Then is the whole scheme of redemption a mockery; the tender pleadings of God with the sinner,—pleadings such as a mother would utter for her wayward child,—merely idle words; the labors and prayers of all christian people highly improper; proceeding, as they must, from a benevolence and sympathy that *ought not* to actuate pious minds. Nay, more, the life of Jesus is, in this case, an inexplicable problem. To that life I have always been accustomed to look for the brightest and most glorious exhibition of a Divine spirit. The infinite tenderness and compassion of Jesus, which he ever manifested towards the most sinful; which found expression in tears as he contemplated the fall of Jerusalem; which was even stronger in him than the love of life, and which induced him to give up all things for the sinner's sake; all this, I say, is inexplicable on the ground of our author's argument.

Possibly it may be said that I have wholly mistaken the import of our author's language here; that he merely alluded to what would be the condition of the sinner *hereafter*, but did not intend to affirm that he should be shut out from our kind and sympathetic interest here. I reply: that the throwing of the sinner out of the pale of sympathy, as he expresses it,—regarding him in such a light that his perpetual torments shall be rather pleasing to a ransomed soul than otherwise—is not predicated of any particular state of being, but purely on '*the malignant nature of sin.*' Is not the *nature* of *sin* as malignant now as it ever will be? And if its malignant nature does not throw the sinner out of the pale of sympathy here, why should it do so at any other time? Do moral principles change with the changing of times and seasons? I had supposed that these were immutable and eternal; and that the *spirit* of all which they claim for the sinner here would remain the same so long as there was a sinner existing. Either let this be admitted,

then, in full, and abide the consequences, or else let it be shown clearly that sin changes its nature as the sinner passes into the future state, so that, whereas he was deserving of pity and compassion here, it will be wrong to exercise them towards him there.

If the nature of moral principles does not change; if this remains the same, as it must, forever; if all good and benevolent beings are interested now in the sinner's behalf, so that there is even *joy in heaven* when one repenteth,—and if the feelings which give birth to this joy increase as we approximate God and perfection, then the sinner can never be without the pale of sympathy, nor can the joys of heaven be perfect until the last lost one is redeemed." pp. 146–154.

Several passages which we had marked in Mr. Ballou's book for insertion, must, to our sorrow, be omitted for want of space. Among them is his chapter on "Difficulties supposed to result from man's Free-agency." The manner in which he keeps his main argument from getting entangled in the "vexed question," may be referred to as an example of the judicious and common-sense treatment that characterizes other parts of his work. And the position which he takes, or rather which he indicates, on the question itself, appears to us the only tenable one. Our moral and religious nature demands our recognition of the Divine agency as supreme, and at the same time asserts our own agency, and our entire moral responsibility in the use of it. The controlling Providence of God so far as results are concerned, and our own free action so far as is requisite to our real desert,—so long as we keep these two given truths inviolate and sacred, it is perhaps of no great moral or religious import how we logically dispose of their mutual relations. We say, so long as we keep intact these two truths which are given us as *data*. But if we take one of them alone, and do so for the purpose of eliminating or commuting the other, the case becomes wholly changed. We set aside either the supremacy of the Divine economy, which religion demands; or we set aside that peculiarity in the distinction between Right and Wrong, which conscience asserts, and which is essential to the reality of moral properties. Our logic too becomes equally vitiated,—vitiated at the outset. It takes only one half of the premises given it; and, for this very reason, it can go straightforward to a conclusion *with* great ease, but with great futility! As matter of

fact, the more triumphantly the question seems to be settled in this way, the more unsettled is it found, on the next occasion, really to be in people's minds. The first genuine prayer, or the first moral act, clears the one-sided conclusion wholly away out of the mind even of the successful logicians themselves, for the time being. It has been in this matter, as it has been in the forming of ecclesiastical Creeds to which we alluded: On each side of the problem, a great deal of arguing by the mere logical intellect, to the exclusion of the moral judgment,—in whose jurisdiction, be it observed, this matter above all others lies. It is an inquiry worthy at least of being looked into, whether the object has not sometimes been to cashier the moral judgment as an impostor. We think it is made to appear plainly enough by Dr. Beecher's work that this has been attempted in some of the more desperate efforts to defend the current Orthodoxy; and it would not be strange if it had sometimes been attempted among ourselves, for other purposes. Now, if this could really and effectually be done, the "great conflict" of which we have treated in this article, the conflict of the moral convictions with the doctrine of endless punishment, would subside at once, but in the wrong way. It would subside, not by any change in that doctrine, but by changing our sense of it, by exorcising us of the peculiar *condemnatory* idea of its *moral wrong*, and leaving us only the bald idea that it was a very *painful* ordainment,—stopping short at that point, without the possibility of going a step further to infer its injustice, cruelty, or wrong; as these are *moral* properties, and therefore, in the case supposed, mere illusions. Every one, accustomed to careful processes of deduction, will easily trace the matter out, and readily see that this conclusion is inevitable from the absurd starting-point.[4] When the invincible demands of the moral judgment, on the question of human and Divine agency, are once treated as of no validity, its demands against the doctrine of endless punishment must likewise be treated as of no validity; when its invincible decisions in general are overruled, there is nothing further to be said about the real wrong

[4] See Universalist Quarterly, Vol. I., Art. vi

of that doctrine or of any thing else. May we suggest this consideration as a caution that we do not, for the sake of any seeming advantage near by, undermine the very foundations on which we all rest. There may be a short-hand summary way of dislodging our opponents from a position, by exploding the ground on which they and we stand in common; but it is expensive tactics.

Let the moral conflict with the doctrine of endless misery go on. Be careful that we do nothing to allay it, by trying to paralyze that mysterious but ever-conscious authority in our nature by which it is conducted. Aid as far as we can in clearing the field of all stumbling-blocks, and then let the conflict take its own way. It will do its work at last. It will grow more and more intense as the moral elements in Christendom are more and more developed. We have had occasion to mention that, although it is discoverable in the earliest ages of the Church, still it is not seen there to so great a degree as in the latter ages. The leaven had not then operated so long as it has operated now; the gospel had not been for so long a time educating the moral sentiments. As these have become stronger and clearer, their oppugnancy to the doctrine has become more distinctly felt. When they shall have gained that maturity which they are slowly approaching, the doctrine will be numbered among refuse things preserved only in history. H. B. 2d.

Art. X.

Were the Sacrifices of the Law vicarious? In what sense are they types of the death of Christ?

"Is not the religion of Moses a religion of sacrifices in the common acceptation of the word? Does not the Law prescribe expiatory and propitiatory offerings, by which the parties making them expect to appease the Divine anger, and obtain release from the punishment of their sins?"

There is certainly ground for these questions in the phraseology of the law, if one takes his view of the nature and object of sacrifices from the pagan rites and offerings. They certainly expected to pacify the wrath of their gods by their sacrifices, and to turn away the threatened judgments on their sins by the victims slain upon the altars.

There is much in the Mosaic books respecting the Law sacrifices, which, at the first, has a look in the same direction with regard to Jehovah. There are offerings which seem to be expiatory, vicarious, standing between the transgressor and his sins, and designed to bear away from him the penalty of the violated law.

But the thing seems to a well-balanced mind so contrary to the radical idea of justice, and so derogatory to the character and government of God, that we feel the moral necessity of finding some explanation which shall remove the Mosaic institutes to a greater distance from those of pagan Egypt and Carthage. And I think a careful inquiry into the whole subject in its details, as well as in its general principles, will furnish us with facts enough on which to base a conclusion more honorable to God as a moral ruler and a just judge.

And the inquiry is the more important, since so much is made out of the Hebrew sacrifices, in the way of types, to prove that the death of Christ was a vicarious or substitutional sacrifice; or, in other words, a sacrifice by which he appeased the wrath of God against the sinful world, and bore in his own person the punishments appointed to its transgressions.

There were many kinds of sacrifices and offerings commanded by the law of Moses, embracing the various offences of the individual and the nation; but they may probably be brought under three general heads.

1. The daily sacrifice at the national altar.

2. The sacrifices of thanksgiving, or acknowledgment of blessings and favors from heaven.

3. Sin-offerings, or sacrifices made in consequence of some violation of the law of God.

It is only with the last division that we are concerned, for the first two are not supposed to involve the principle of substitution, or vicarious offering.

In order to understand the Old Testament sacrifices,

one important fact must be set out as the first step, viz: that the government of the Jews was a theocracy. Jehovah was their political or civil ruler, their king, as well as their moral governor, their God. They had chosen him by regular covenant, and acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, the record of which may be seen in Deut. xxix.

Of course, if we would avoid contradictions, and be instructed by the Jewish Scriptures, we must distinguish between these two threads running through the whole web of Jewish history and life, public and private. Jehovah was not only their God, to whose moral government they were amenable as his creatures, but he was also their king, to whose legal or civil government they were amenable as his subjects. As a sovereign he governs them by the Mosaic law; but as God he governs them, as he does all men, by the moral law. Sometimes indeed these two threads get twisted together, or run into one; but the results are always distinct and separate—the rewards and punishments are never confounded or interchanged.

For example: a sin of ignorance, or an unconscious transgression of the ceremonial law, requires a sacrifice just as much as a wilful transgression. So a leper must by sacrifice make himself clean before the Lord, because the law pronounced his disease unclean and dangerous. Levit. iv. 13–21, xiv.

Here God appears in the capacity of a civil ruler, demanding the strictest conformity to his published laws or statutes. There is no moral element involved, the whole being entirely legal and ceremonial.

But the murderer or thief committed an offence not only against the civil law, but also against the moral law; not only against Jehovah as his sovereign, but against Jehovah as his God. Of consequence he had to answer to both elements in his offence; and the sacrifice had reference to the legal element only, while for his moral wrong God dealt with him, as he does with all men, according to the moral law founded in his own nature.

With these preliminary statements, I proceed to the first division of the subject, viz:

I. The argument drawn from the sacrifices themselves.

In conducting the inquiry in this department, I shall

cite from the Levitical records a few cases of sacrifices as examples of the whole.

1. *Sacrifices for wilful sins.* Levit. vi. 1–7.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, If a soul sin, and commit a trespass against the Lord, and lie unto his neighbor in that which was delivered him to keep, or in fellowship, or in a thing taken away by violence, or hath deceived his neighbor, or have found that which was lost, and lieth concerning it, and sweareth falsely, ... then it shall be because he hath sinned, and is guilty, that he shall restore that which he took violently away, or which he hath deceitfully gotten, or which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found, or all that about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in the principal, and shall add the fifth part more thereto, and give it unto him to whom it appertaineth, in the day of his trespass-offering. And he shall bring his trespass-offering unto the Lord, a ram without blemish, ... and the priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord: and it shall be forgiven him for any thing of all that he hath done in trespassing therein."

The reader will note that not a word is said in all this account of the sacrifice being vicarious or a substitute for punishment. On the contrary, one important fact is distinctly stated, that before the sacrifice, the offender is commanded to make restoration, and the penalty of a fifth part additional is imposed as a punishment. Nothing can be plainer than this—reparation to the injured, a fine in the way of penalty, and then the sacrifice as an acknowledgment of subjection to the law, or a renewal of the oath of allegiance and obedience.

And all this is purely legal and civil. There still remain the punishments of the moral law, the shame and reproach and degradation, the moral and social penalty, which always follow falsehood, perjury, and theft, and which no legal sacrifice can ever reach or remove.

2. *Sacrifices for sins of ignorance.* Levit. iv. 1–3.

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a soul shall sin through ignorance against any of the commandments of the Lord concerning things which ought not to be done—if the priest that is anointed do sin according to the sin of the

people; then let him bring for his sin which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto the Lord for a sin-offering," &c.

Here the same sacrifice in substance is required for a sin of ignorance as for a wilful sin. But a sin of ignorance is no sin. The wrong lies in the motive. And can we suppose that God in such cases would inflict punishment on the unconscious transgressor, unless he was appeased in his anger by sacrifice? Are not we ready to forgive when the offence is unintentional? And is God less generous or less just than man?

Does not this sacrifice show that the object is not to avert the anger or judgment of God? that it is simply a symbolic expression of the transgressor's respect for the law, or of his regret for his offence? Does it not show that the sacrifices are purely legal and not moral; established to show the mind of man, his repentance, sorrow, his allegiance to the law; and not to change the mind or disposition of God, or to ward off his punishments?

3. *Sacrifices for leprosy and bodily diseases.* Levit. xiv., xv.

If the reader will consult these chapters, which are too lengthy to quote, he will find that these misfortunes, these physical afflictions, require sacrifices as much as the most hardened wickedness; and what is important to note, they are called by the same name, "sin-offerings!"

Can any thing show more plainly that the sin here, and of consequence the sacrifice, is legal and ceremonial, having nothing to do with the moral element? The civil law pronounces these diseases as unclean, and God who is the sovereign, ruling the people by this civil law, requires the recognition of the excellency of the law in the way set forth by the sacrifice. But there is no moral guilt, no punishment denounced against the sick man, which he escapes by the sacrifice.

4. *The great day of atonement.*

I turn now to the great annual sacrifice for the sins of the nation, the account of which is given in Levit. xvi., which the reader is desired to turn to, and study with attention. And having done so, he will note the following facts:

1st. Nothing is said of God's wrath, or of any satisfac*tion rendered* to him.

2nd. Nothing is said of the sacrifice being vicarious, or accepted by God as a substitute, or in the place of the punishment due the people, and which, but for the sacrifice or atonement, he would have inflicted.

3rd. There is mention of forgiveness of *sin*, the scapegoat bearing away the *sins* and *iniquities* of the people, &c. But this refers only to legal, and not moral sins. This must be, otherwise there is a direct conflict between Moses and Paul. Levit. xvi. 30, says, "On that day shall the priest make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, that you may be clean from all your sins before the Lord."

But Paul says, Heb. x. 4, "It is impossible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins." Of course, Moses and Paul do not speak of the same kind of sins, else there is irreconcilable contradiction. The truth is, Paul speaks of moral sins, and Moses refers to legal sins, or sins against the ceremonial law. This will be confirmed by the next particular to be noted.

4th. The atonement is made for the sanctuary, the tabernacle and altar, as well as for the priests and the people; for dead, unoffending stone and wood, as well as for moral and responsible men and women.

The altar could not sin, could not violate any law, civil or moral, and could not therefore require sacrifice in a vicarious sense, or as a release from punishment. But, symbolically, they were unclean, and the law prescribed the method in which they should be made clean again, and ready for service.

The leading idea of this annual sacrifice or atonement, and of all trespass or sin offerings, seems to be that of confession and repentance, of the righteousness of the law of God, and a desire to conform to it, on the part of the people; and, on the part of God, of his acceptance of their repentance, and of themselves, the sanctuary, altar, &c., as legally clean.

It is, so to compare it, the balance-sheet between the Divine sovereign and his subjects, wherein is exhibited a settlement of accounts for the past year, and the opening of a new account for the coming year—the account having reference entirely to the ceremonial law, and not to any moral quality of action.

II. Argument from the history of the Jews, and from the direct testimony of the word of God.

I propose now to confirm these views by other facts drawn from the Scriptures and the history of the Jews under the law. And these facts, it is believed, will conclusively show that the law sacrifices were not intended to be vicarious, or in any way to interfere with the operation of the moral law, by standing between the sinner and the punishment of his sins.

1. The indisputable truth, that transgressors were punished for their violations of the moral law, both by the natural operation of that law, and by special judgments, just as if no sacrifices had been ordained or offered.

Take the case of *Saul.* His life, his sins, and the consequences, his rejection from the kingdom, and his death, show very clearly that his sacrifices did not shield him from the just judgments of heaven for his wrong-doing.

David is another example. His story is familiar to every reader of the Bible—his weakness and wickedness, his criminal conduct, his unpardonable offences against the moral law. Did his daily sacrifices, his trespass-offerings, his repentance even, save him from the retributions of the law he had violated? Did God accept his sacrifices as a substitute, or in the place of punishment? No, verily; as the Psalms and the historical books of the Old Testament abundantly witness.

"The pains of hell gat hold on me; I found trouble and sorrow." Again: "The sorrows of hell compassed me about; the snares of death prevented me. In my distress I called upon the Lord." cxvi., xviii. And the whole of Psalm lxix. is a pathetic lamentation over the terrible afflictions which had fallen upon him because of his "foolishness and sins."

Surely this does not look much as if his sacrifices and trespass-offerings were vicarious. Evidently they had in no possible sense interposed between him and his moral guilt. Whatever their relation to the ceremonial or civil law, they were not accepted by God as a substitute for the penalties of the moral law.

The same testimony is afforded by the life of *Solomon.* Notwithstanding all his sacrifices and sin-offerings, he paid dearly for all his transgressions. His experience of

punishment for every offence against righteousness, justice, and purity, was as if no sacrifices had ever been made or heard of.

2. The history of national judgments shows the same results.

For the nation we have the annual sacrifice, offered in solemn form by the high-priest on the great day of atonement, made for the sins of the whole people. Levit. xvi.

And yet nothing is more certain than that the Jews were punished as a nation for their sins. Their entire history, from generation to generation, is a record of the exactness with which the threatenings of God were fulfilled upon them. It would be useless to cite particular cases, when opening the Old Testament at almost any page will furnish proofs of the statement.

One of three things, then, must be true: Either the history is false, and the Jews were not punished as set forth; or, if it be true, the annual sacrifice of atonement was not intended as a vicarious substitute, not ordained to release them from punishment; or, if this was its object, then it was a complete failure from first to last; a term which I suppose no Christian would be willing to apply to any thing God really undertakes to do.

3. The direct testimonies of God's word by the mouth of David and the prophets. As examples, see Psalms l. and li. Isaiah i. and Micah vi.

"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams? . . . . He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God. . . . . Shall I count them pure with the wicked balances, and with the bag of deceitful weights? For the rich men thereof are full of violence, and the inhabitants have spoken lies. . . . . Therefore also will I make thee sick in smiting thee, in making thee desolate because of thy sins." *Micah.*

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not

in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations. . . . . I am weary to bear them. . . . . Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. . . . . If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword." *Isaiah.*

Such precise and positive declarations as these seem to go to the heart of the matter. Of course, allowance is to be made for the Hebrew idiom, by which the superiority of one thing over another is expressed by setting them in opposition, exalting one and abasing the other. But this does not reach the point involved in the passages here cited.

For example: by Isaiah God declares himself weary with their offerings, and refuses to accept their sacrifices on the ground that they are wicked and sinful. Yet this was the very object for which they were instituted, if they are vicarious. They had their origin in the sins of the people, and were expressly designed to meet the exigency. Why, then, refuse them? The people are in exactly the moral condition for which the sacrifices were provided, if the common doctrine be true; and instead of refusing their sacrifices and threatening them with judgments, God, as he had agreed to do, should have accepted the sacrifices in the place of judgments. But instead of this, he threatens them with the punishment of their sins, and in the very threat itself acknowledges the multitude of their sin-offerings and sacrifices, which he had pledged himself, in solemn covenant, to be satisfied with as a substitute for punishment!

Can any thing show more conclusively that the sacrifices were not offered in the Orthodox sense of atonement, as a satisfaction for moral transgression, or as substitutes for a just retribution?

The truth of the matter is, the people attempted to make out of these sacrifices precisely what Orthodox theologians claim they were. They undertook to make them moral, as well as legal or ceremonial. They strove to put them in the place of obedience to the law of moral

righteousness. They transgressed this law, were dishonest in their weights and measures, oppressed the poor, robbed the widow and fatherless, set justice and mercy at naught, and then endeavored to thrust in their sacrifices and trespass-offerings between themselves and the just punishment of their sins. And it is this of which God speaks in his accusation, and which he distinctly repudiates; assuring them the only way in which they can escape his judgments, is to "cease to do evil, and learn to do well," "to put away the evil of their doings" from before him, to wash them and be as clean and exact morally as they are ceremonially.

The Saviour brings the same charge against them eight hundred years afterward: "Ye pay tithes of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith." Ye have been legally precise, but ye have been morally false and unjust and cruel. And then, as if to show them that their tithes and offerings would not stand between them and their moral offences, he says, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"

The simple fact is, the sacrifices of the law never were intended as vicarious in any sense; never were ordained for the purpose of affecting the Deity, or averting his judgments against sin.

They were partly thanksgivings, expressions of gratitude to the Giver of Good, the source of life and health and all other blessings,—as in the case of the leprous person, where undoubtedly one element of the sacrifice was an expression of gratitude to God for his deliverance from a loathsome disease, and restoration to health and soundness of body. Of course, it was intended also to signify his respect for the law which pronounced his disease unclean and dangerous, and his desire to conform to its requisitions.

The sacrifices had also this purpose in view: the regular and constant acknowledgment of the sovereignty of God as the lawgiver and king of the Jewish people, of the righteousness of the laws by which he governed them, and of their sorrow and repentance for their transgressions of these as individuals and as a nation.

The Jews, as their history shows, were liable to forget

their invisible king, and to set at naught his statutes. The daily and annual sacrifices, and the trespass and sin offerings, were established to remind them that they were his subjects, and as visible tokens of his presence and rule among them, and of his purpose to hold them to strict account for all their sins.

III. Argument from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and its typical contrast of the Law sacrifices with the sacrifice of Christ.

It has been customary with those believing in the vicarious nature of Christ's death, to appeal to the Epistle to the Hebrews as one of the chief supports of this theory. The writer institutes a comparison between the priesthood of Aaron and of Jesus, between the sacrifices under the law, and the sacrifice which Christ is represented as making of himself; and speaks of the first as shadows or types of the last. Of course the argument is that the type and the antitype must correspond, and as the sacrifices of the law were vicarious, so must the sacrifice of Christ be.

But I think it has been fairly shown that the premises of this argument are false,—that the law sacrifices were not vicarious; and this being the case, the conclusion is also false, and nothing can be made from them to prove that Christ suffered the punishment due the guilty world.

A great deal is said about the law, its priesthood and sacrifices, being types of the gospel, the priesthood and death of Christ. It is true that the apostle speaks of the "law having a shadow of good things to come," but he expressly declares, at the same time, that it is only a shadow, and "not the very image of the things;" as if to guard against too close an application of the particulars of the old dispensation to those of the new.

Even admitting the idea of a type, it is easy to see that in many respects there is no correspondence. Sometimes there is more in the type than in the antitype, and sometimes it is the reverse. The priest of the law offered sacrifice for his own sins, which of course cannot apply to Christ. The priest offered the blood of others, but Christ his own blood. The first offered sacrifices daily and yearly; the last "once for all." Again the priesthood of the law is declared "weak and unprofitable," (vii. 18,) and its sacrifices unable to perfect those offering them, or

to take away sin; the opposite of which is affirmed of Christ and his sacrifice.

Admitting, therefore, the priesthood and sacrifices of the law to be typical of those of the gospel, it must be understood with a large margin of difference.

And this, indeed, is the repeated assertion of the apostle in this epistle. The great aim of his argument is to bring out, from the comparison of the law and the gospel, the differences between the two, and the superiority of the latter.

And yet while the advocates of the vicarious and typical scheme seem to allow this, they seem also to be quite unconscious that it completely overthrows their scheme, or at least takes from their argument all its force. For, this being the case, even if the sacrifices of the law were vicarious or substitutional, it would not follow that the same is true of Christ's sacrifice; any more than it would follow that Christ offered the blood of others, or atoned for his own sins, or made daily offerings, because this was true of the law-priesthood.

The sum of the matter is, that the apostle makes a general comparison, showing a general resemblance between the things of the law and of the gospel; with a view, at the same time, to show the differences in important particulars between the two, and wherein, in respect to these differences, Christ and the gospel are superior to Aaron and the Law. And it is only in the light of this fact, keeping the design of the writer in the foreground, that any one can hope to understand the language and teachings of this epistle.

But aside from the typical argument from Hebrews, it is singular that those who lean upon it with so much confidence in support of the vicarious nature both of the law-sacrifices and of Christ's death, should be so blind to some of its positive declarations to the contrary.

For example, in the very opening of the epistle, (chap. ii. 2,) we have the unequivocal testimony, that under the law-dispensation, ("the word spoken by angels,") "every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward;" i. e. says Hammond, "the breaches of the law were actually punished;" or, as Clarke expresses it, "that kind and degree of punishment which the law prescribed for those who broke it."

Now if this be true, then plainly the sacrifices of the law were not vicarious. If *every* transgression and disobedience received a just punishment, then the sin and trespass offerings did not save from this punishment. They were not something accepted as a substitute for this, and thereby wholly releasing the sinner from the consequences of his sin. Nothing, it would seem, can be plainer than this, or more conclusive against the vicarious theory.

And the same is apparent now. Notwithstanding the asserted vicarious death of Christ, men suffer for their sins as much as if no satisfaction had been rendered to the divine law. Every transgression and disobedience receives its just recompense of reward under the new, as well as under the old, dispensation; and the sacrifice of Christ does not seem to interfere with the natural operation of the moral and physical law, any more than the Levitical sacrifices.

There is no transfer of the guilty conscience, the remorse and terror of the murderer, to the innocent sufferer on the cross. The crime and its punishment still cling together in the darkened and condemned soul of the criminal.

And the physical suffering, broken constitution, wasted property, degradation, shame, and wretchedness of soul and body, which reveal the drunkard, reveal also that the punishment is inherent in, and inseparable from, the sin, and that no sacrifice can save from it. Nay, they show that without a perpetual miracle, without the constant interposition of God changing the whole moral structure of man, in every example of transgression, the punishment of sin could not in any sense be transferred to Christ.[1]

I turn now to the consideration of some of the particu-

[1] Dr. Clarke justly says, "Every sinner has a *daily pay*, and this pay is *death*; he has *misery* because he sins. Sin constitutes hell; the sinner has a hell in his own bosom; all is *confusion* and *disorder* where God does not reign; every indulgence of sinful passions increases the disorder, and consequently the misery of the sinner." *Note on Rom.* vi. 23. This being the case, it is not easy to see how Christ suffers in his stead, unless the sinner receives double wages, or is paid twice, —once in his own person and once in the person of Christ.

lars respecting the sacrifice of Christ, as they are set forth in this epistle and in other scriptures.

1. The constant declaration that Christ offered himself a sacrifice for sin, and not as a substitute to release man from punishment.

"His blood cleanseth from all *sin;*" he "puts away *sin* by the sacrifice of himself;" "he offered one sacrifice for *sins* for ever;" he "bears the *sins* of many;" our "hearts are sprinkled from an *evil conscience;*" we are "purged from *dead works* to serve the living God," &c.

This is the language of the epistle perpetually repeated, but not a word of his bearing the *punishment* of sin, or suffering as a substitute in this respect. And thus the epistle harmonizes with the rest of the New Testament, which uniformly testifies that he saves us from sin and iniquity. "He gave himself for our sins," that he might "redeem us from all *iniquity;*" "he shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins," &c.

And it is at this point that Paul establishes one evidence of the superiority of Christ's sacrifice over those of the law. The last could not save from the power of sin, nor establish the heart in holiness. They were only acknowledgments of the righteousness of God's rule, and of the offence and regret of the transgressor; but they supplied no spiritual life or energy. "The bringing in of a better hope" did; the love of God displayed in the death of Christ quickened and renewed and sanctified the sinful and disobedient. "For in this was the love of God manifested, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." It is this that makes the sacrifice of Christ so efficacious in subduing the sinful heart; and it gives point to the exclamation, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." The hardest heart often yields to love and goodness, when the most rigorous, and even righteous, law fails to make any impression on it.

2. The last quotation, which speaks of the Saviour as the "Lamb of God," leads naturally to the Jewish Passover, which is regarded as a special type of Christ.

Paul says to the Corinthians (1 Cor. v. 7,) "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." But any one can see that it is only in an accommodated sense that this is said; and even if it were to be understood as a full

and true type, it would prove nothing for the vicarious theory.

The Passover began in Egypt, before the giving of the law, and was perpetuated as one of the festivals under the law. The record is in Exodus xii. 1–28. Here the Israelites are required to kill a lamb and eat it with unleavened bread, and to "take of the blood and strike it on the two side-posts and on the upper door-post" of their houses. "For the Lord will pass through and smite the (firstborn of the) Egyptians, and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel and on the two side-posts, the Lord will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you." *Verse* 23.

Now there is nothing like a sacrifice of substitution here, nor even an offering for sin. The Jews had not sinned, were in no danger of punishment, and the lamb was not intended to avert the wrath of God against them. The judgment was against the Egyptians entirely, and the blood on the door-posts was a token of deliverance for them and theirs from the destroying angel. And in this sense Christ is our Passover, if his blood is so appropriated, through faith and obedience, as to distinguish us, as true Israelites, from the hardened and wicked Egyptians. If "the blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin," then we are known as his, and the angel of judgment passes us over. We are saved from those evils which we should have suffered had we continued in sin, as did the Egyptians. Hence Christ is called the "Lamb (i. e., of the Passover) that taketh away the sin of the world."

3. Those passages which speak of Christ as a ransom. He says himself, "The Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many." Matt. xx. 28. Paul affirms that "he gave himself a ransom for all to be testified in due time." 1 Tim. ii. 6.

The thought embodied in this form of expression is plainly, deliverance from the bondage of sin. The prophet Isaiah represents the arm of the Lord as that which "made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over." The ransomed here were the Israelites, ransomed or delivered from the servitude of Egypt.[2]

[2] Of course the Lord did not pay a price to the Egyptians to let his *people go, though* they are said to be ransomed.

So Jesus is represented as giving himself to ransom or redeem mankind from the servitude and slavery of sin. He strengthens the heart in its resistance, he inspires it with heavenly courage, he breaks the power of evil and the bonds of iniquity, and leads us forth into spiritual liberty.

4. The language of Isaiah liii. 4–6, 10, compared with 1 Peter ii. 21–24.

"Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. . . . . He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. . . . . The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."

This is as strong language as can be cited from the Scriptures, and yet a moment's examination will show the impossibility of a literal interpretation. How could Christ bear the grief or carry the sorrow of sin, who knew no sin? It is not possible he could feel the remorse of the criminal, the murderer, the agony of shame and degradation, and the physical torment of the drunkard.

But in a figurative sense he may be said to bear our griefs and sorrows, as John Howard bore the griefs and sorrows of the prisoners and the wretched whom he visited and comforted, and by incessant toil and effort relieved from the cruelties laid upon them. He suffered grief and anxiety, he had sorrow and trouble and painful labor, and finally died, in his efforts to deliver them from their unhappy lot.

So Christ bears our sorrows and "our sins in his own person on the tree," by living and laboring and dying to deliver us from them. And thus we are healed by his stripes, our peace is secured by his suffering, we are redeemed from sin by the power of truth and grace revealed in his death.

So our revolutionary fathers suffered and sacrificed themselves and all they had, that they and their children might have freedom; and we have, through their blood, deliverance from tyranny, as we have through the blood of Christ deliverance from, or forgiveness of, sin.

Matt. viii. 16, 17, is a perfect commentary on Isaiah and Peter. "And he cast out the spirits with his word,

and he healed all that were sick; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet; saying, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses."

Now in what sense did, or could, Jesus take the infirmities of those who were diseased, or bear their sicknesses? What did he do in their case? We are told in the preceding words: "He *healed* all that were sick." This is the equivalent of the phrase, "he bare our sicknesses;" and, in a physical sense, this is the equivalent of the phrases, "he bare our sins," "he carried our sorrows," &c., in their moral sense. Christ bore the infirmities and sicknesses of the people by healing them; and he bears our sins in the same way, by healing our moral diseases, and restoring us to spiritual health.[3]

Both prophet and apostle undoubtedly had the scapegoat of the great day of atonement in mind, and borrowed the phraseology of that custom, as recorded in Levit. xvi. 20–22. "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness; and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited—and he shall let the goat go in the wilderness."

Of course all this is tropical, and not literal. Literally it is impossible. The thing is done only in a figure; for in no other possible sense could the legal or moral sins of the people be laid upon the head of the goat, or he be made to bear them, or carry them away into the wilderness. And even in this figure it is to be observed that it is not the punishment, but the iniquity and sin of the people, which the goat is represented as bearing. There is nothing vicarious in the transaction.

The sum of the matter is that the scapegoat was a symbolic expression, on the part of the people, of their purpose to put away all the sins and iniquities of the past; and, on the part of God, of his acceptance of this evidence of their repentance, and his willingness to blot

[3] While writing this, a friend, speaking of a distinguished physician, remarked, "He *carried* my mother through a severe sickness." He *carried* her in the sense of curing her.

out the past, and to begin a new account with them, and to receive them as though they had not sinned at all.

But the renewal of this sacrifice and ceremony every year, shows, as the apostle says, how ineffectual it was in putting away sin, or the disposition to it. There was no moral power in the form,—nothing that could affect or win the heart. The live goat led into the wilderness could no more take away sin, than the blood of the slain goat. They were simply an acknowledgment of the righteousness of the law, and of the obligation to obey it.

And here again the argument of Paul in Hebrews takes effect, and by contrast shows the superiority of Christ's sacrifice. He removes, puts away sin by the sacrifice of himself, and does it effectually,—not by exhibiting the sternness of the lawgiver, or the unyielding rigor of the law, but by displaying the infinite and everlasting love of the Father. And this is not for one people only, but for the whole world. He is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." Not in part, but entirely; for "the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin." Not for a year only, but for all time; for "after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, he for ever sat down on the right hand of God;" and "we are sanctified once for all through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ."

So greatly superior is the sacrifice and atonement of our great High-Priest and Saviour; and so marked are the special differences, notwithstanding the general resemblance, between the priesthood of Aaron and of Jesus.

And to the glorious result set forth in this epistle, all Scripture points. The prophet declares it in the very passage which represents him as bearing our iniquities; for, says the man of God, "he shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied, ... the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand."

Nothing will satisfy the Lamb of God but the putting away of the sin of the world, for "he gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity," and "he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." And this is the *pleasure* of the Lord which shall prosper in his hand: "It *pleased* the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him

to reconcile all things unto himself." . . . . "Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good *pleasure* of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved. In whom we have redemption, through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace, wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence; having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good *pleasure* which he hath purposed in himself, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him."

Thus the pleasure and the purpose of the Lord, the sacrifice and atonement, the travail, desire, and satisfaction of Christ, and the deliverance of all souls from sin, unite all on one point, and shed the splendors of the celestial world on the love of God to man, as displayed in the perfected plan of universal holiness and happiness.

T. B. T.

Art. XI.

Elements of Character.

1. The Elements of Character. By Mary G. Chandler. Second Edition. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company. 1854.
2. Christianity the Perfection of True Manliness. By Rev. E. H. Chapin. New York: Henry Lyon, 548 Broadway. 1854.
3. Graces and Powers of the Christian Life. By A. D. Mayo. Boston: Published by Abel Tompkins, 38 Cornhill. 1853.
4. The Christian Household. By Rev. George S. Weaver. Boston: A. Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1854.

We intend no review of the works placed at the head of our page, but simply desire to intimate concerning them, that they contain much pertinent matter bearing upon the theme of this article. It may be allowable, however, to say of the first of these books—which is lia-

ble to be least known to our readers—that it aims at a distinct mapping out of the faculties, and an analytical statement of the elements of character, with intimations of the order and proportions to be observed in building up the edifice. The groundwork of its philosophy is thus disclosed, in the opening of the essay on "The Human Trinity:" "Man being created in the image and likeness of God, we must of necessity find in him a finite organization corresponding with the infinite organization of the Creator. In the Infinite Divine Trinity,[1] there are the Divine Goodness or Love, the Divine Truth or Wisdom, and the Divine Operation, or the manifestation of the other two in and upon the universe: in other words, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In the human, finite trinity, we have, corresponding with these, affection, understanding, and use, or eternal life. . . . . In the just training of character, if we first learn to understand the capacities and relations of affection, thought, and life, and look within our own natures until we learn to comprehend how every thing pertaining to our being belongs to one of these departments, we shall better appreciate the difficulties to be overcome before we shall be willing to make every thing that we *do* the honest outbirth of every thing that we *are*. Pretence and hypocrisy, subterfuge and falsehood, will then disappear, and life will become the adequate expression of symmetrical character."[2]

[1] The reader will understand that these Trinitarian terms are used in the Swedenborgian sense. We let them stand, though we do not approve them.

[2] The idea of what constitutes a symmetrical character, is elsewhere stated in the following language: "The virtues all lock into each other. They cannot stand alone. Like the stones of an arch, no one of them can be wanting without making all the rest insecure. That character alone is trustworthy in which each virtue takes its relative position, and all are held in place and confirmed by the keystone of a living faith in the great central fact, that there is a God of infinite goodness and truth, whose commandments are the laws of life in this world and the world to come." The direct *sources* of character are thus epigrammatically announced: "In our religion, thought gives us faith, imagination gives us hope, and affection gives us charity." The *process* by which the abstractions of the intellect are transmuted into the verities of the heart, is stated as follows: "Thought is an uncreative power, and gives form to nothing. Imagination is a more positive power, and can impart form to every thing in thought. Thought acts subjectively, while imagination is more objective in its operations. Thought is, by

From this principle the leading ideas of the book are developed. Its basis is doubtless philosophical; and with its treatment and conclusions we are, in the main, well pleased. The spirit of the work is genial, animating, noble. It could only have emanated from a heart mellowed by Christian experiences, expanded in the amplitude of universal benevolence, and adorned by the fairest womanly graces. Much might be said in praise of its style, notwithstanding some repetition and redundancy. It is clear, flowing, direct, and pungent,—often fixing the mind to a fact by a trenchant epigram, or rousing the imagination by a felicitous metaphor. Its subtle analysis is not the least of its merits. It shows the author possessed of a sagacious perception of motives that no sophistry can elude, and of a critical instinct that finds the relations of things intuitively.[3] In fine, the book is worthy of a place among the best of recent religious publications.

itself, a pure abstraction; passing into the imagination, it becomes a positive reality, and in the affections a vital reality." "The motive power of man is affection. What he loves he wills, and what he wills he performs. Our character is the complex of all that we love."—pp. 19, 101, 77, 106.

[3] As an instance of the just discrimination and acute perception evinced throughout the volume, I quote the following from the preliminary essay: "Many persons confound reputation with character, and believe themselves to be striving for the reality of the one, when the fantasy of the other alone stimulates their desires. Reputation is the opinion entertained of us by our fellow-beings, while character is that which we really are. When we labor to gain reputation, we are not even taking the first step towards the acquisition of character, but only putting on coverings over that which is, and protecting it against improvement. As well may we strive to be virtuous by thinking of the reward of heaven, as to build up our characters by thinking of the opinions of men. The cases are precisely parallel. In each we are thinking of the pay as something apart from the work; while, in fact, the only pay we can have inheres in the doing of the work. Virtue is its own reward, because its performance creates the kingdom of heaven within us, and we cannot attain to virtue until we strive after it for its own sake. . . . . There is a transient and permanent side to all our mental attributes. Take, for instance, manners, which are the most external of them all. So far as we habituate ourselves to courtesy and good-breeding because we shall stand better with the world if we are polite than if we are rude, we are cultivating a merely external habit, which we shall be likely to throw off as often as we think it safe to go without it, as we should an uncomfortably fitting dress; and our manners do not belong to our characters any more than our coats belong to

We propose to treat of the elements of character, with especial reference to manhood,—not affecting any metaphysical profundity, but merely indicating those qualities that obviously compose the perfect man. Of course, we do not here speak of the perfect man in the sense of absolute *faultlessness*. Human imperfection is everywhere apparent, and everywhere acknowledged. By way of distinction, we call that man *perfect* who best fulfils the law of duty,—who is truest to the requirements of his position, and who evolves the largest good from his peculiar circumstances. We call him perfect who steadfastly aspires toward the summit of life,—the uniform direction of whose thought is heavenward, the prevalent temper of whose heart is humane. We call him perfect who acts by principles instead of impulses, who will not sacrifice a public good to secure a private advantage, and who has an instinctive conviction that it is wiser to do God's will in every emergency, than yield to the caprices of the world, either for its terrors or its bribes. Such men there are, distributed through society, the braces that support, the bands that bind, the civil mechanism of the world. For upright, Christian men in society, are what oaken timbers and iron clamps are in a building; they give strength and stability to the structure. Take from the community those in whom the element of honor, the power of religion, and the sentiment of humanity, are most largely developed, and we should lapse, doubtless, into a moral condition not far removed from actual barbarism.

We are rarely fortunate enough to find a man in whom

our persons. This is the transient side of manners. If, on the contrary, we are polite from an inward conviction that politeness is one of the forms of love to the neighbor, ... and because politeness is a trait that we love for its own inherent beauty, our manners belong to the substance of our character,—they are not its garment, but its skin; and this is the permanent side of manners. . . . . In the same way, every personal accomplishment and every mental acquisition has its transient and its permanent side. So far as we cultivate them to enrich and to ennoble our natures, to enlarge and to elevate our understandings, to become wiser, better, and more useful to our fellow-beings, we are cultivating our characters,—the spiritual essence of our being; but these very same acquisitions, when sought from motives wholly selfish and worldly, are not only as transient as the clothes we wear, but often as useless as the ornaments of a fashionable costume."—pp. 11, 12.

are seen all the elements of the perfection we have described. The excellences of human nature, as well as its defects, are not often embodied in solitary individuals, but are distributed through the race. As gold and silver and precious stones are treasured in the mines of no single continent, so self-denying virtue and heroism are monopolized by no sect or nation. The Creator diffuses the inspirations of his spirit like the vital currents of the atmosphere, and quickens some germs of goodness and flowers of beauty in human hearts through every realm of existence.

Every man who enjoys a tolerable reputation among those who have known him intimately, will be found to have some quality of character that is really admirable. Perhaps he may have a clear, sound love of truth, with an instinctive hatred of all sophistry and falsehood. To him, duplicity is the sum of evil, and integrity the first of the virtues. He regards the man who is cowardly enough to seek refuge in a lie, or artful enough to put spectacles on the nose of the public, so that he may be seen through what discolored medium he prefers—as bad enough to serve the devil in any capacity. Or, this man may be peculiarly excellent in his domestic relations. His home is the endeared kingdom where he reigns, by the united suffrage of those to whom he has proved the best earthly friend. It is the dearest spot the earth contains, and no appeals to his cupidity or to his ambition could tempt him to sacrifice one of its joys. In the companion who shares the mingled essence of his destiny, and in the children who form a "belt of rosy bloom" around his winter fire, he finds the most enduring enjoyment, because that which is least tainted by selfishness. Or, again: the man may have tender sensibilities, so that he shall weep at the story of distress, and give his money with alacrity to all humane causes. He may be a social benefactor by reason of his ready charities,—one whose impulses are generous, ardent, and noble,—though his conscientiousness may be feeble, and though he may not be governed by any positive sense of duty. Or, yet again: the individual we have supposed may be characterized by a deep undertone of piety. If cherished apart from sentiments of benevolence, this feeling will separate his religion from its

human relations, and cause it to eddy around the great thought of God. In the dim, indescribable expanse of his consciousness, the image of infinite majesty will rear itself, in silent mightiness; and thither will the incense of his veneration rise, like vapor ascending the side of a mountain. Such a man will absorb his noblest faculties in contemplative adoration, and the more sacred volume of his sensations will translate itself in ecstacies. His connexion with the world will be only superficial; he will stay in it for bargaining purposes, but will not pitch the tent of his religion amid its motley crowds. When he desires to taste life as a spiritual being, he locks up the counting-room, brushes off the profane memories of twelve per cent., and swings clear upon the idealities of faith.

Now it is doubtless a blessing for a man to possess even one of the qualities we have named. By virtue of such a quality, he exacts a certain degree of respect. There is a perceptible moral dignity about him. We may point to his solitary excellence, as we might to the badge worn by a soldier—as indicating that the man has rendered service to his king. Here the mercy of heaven has grazed him as it rolled, and left a living spark that nothing can extinguish. Here is a sound place in his otherwise shattered nature, to which other principles can be nailed, and *clinched* with deep-driven convictions. Or, to use a more natural figure, here is a *germ* of moral goodness, which may spring, under the fostering influences of God's truth and providence, into a harmonious and perfect growth of character.

What we desire is, that the sterling qualities and adorning graces that are strewn through the race at large, may be consolidated into individual life. Not that we would have human beings the servile copies of each other, and so abolish that diversity which is the charm of every prospect, whether material or mental. The *constitutional* peculiarities of people are marked enough to avert such a catastrophe. But surely the *essence* of all the goodness and grace that now abide on this earth, might be assimilated into individual character, and still leave ample scope for the diversities of *form* and *expression*, through which the power and amplitude of life reveal themselves to the

senses. In a word, while there should be no interference with the "diversity of gifts," there might be "one spirit" circulating from God to the humblest human soul, and imbuing each member of the race with the essential elements of character.

Let us now proceed to the enumeration of certain qualities, existing in a greater or less degree of maturity among men, which it were desirable to combine in the formation of personal character. We shall of course consider these with implied reference to that scriptural personage, in whom they were all blended in their utmost perfection. In Christ alone we see all the qualities of manhood balanced, harmonized, and rounded into a sphere of glory. In him the fabric of character is complete,—and spiritualized by living intercourse with the Creator.

I. In the structure of Christian character, there is no more essential element than *moral purity.* Without this, the highest reason is clouded, and the strongest intellectual faculties are liable to perversion. Until this be attained, an impenetrable cloud will oppress the spiritual sense, fostering an importunate skepticism that no logic and no evidence can allay. The universe cannot be seen, in its higher departments and nobler relations, except by the morally pure; for, only the pure in heart see God, or that portion of his works with which he is peculiarly identified. In fact, moral purity, more than any thing else, forms the *condition* on which depends our elevation from the earthly into the spiritual sphere. It forms the chief distinction between those who are in bondage to their senses, and those who, accepting the truth as it is in Christ, are free in the service to which he calls them. Moral purity is frequently lost in childhood, through promiscuous intercourse with corrupt company. The boy learns to defile his lips with vulgar words, and to people his fancy with vicious images, before he can form any notion of the injury he is inflicting upon himself. It is the saddest fact in all the sad catalogue of human regrets. The child who contracts this contamination, may remain all his days blind to the subtler glories, and dead to the serener pleasures, which God has enshrined in human life. It makes the heart bleed and the eye grow dim to think

of the millions of youthful spirits already clouded, or yet to become so, by the recklessness with which they are allowed—sometimes *compelled*—to acquire evil associations and vile habits, in lands where the morality of the gospel and the sanctity of the soul are profoundly revered. It is the great imperfection of our social order, and a terrible reproach to the Christian church in this age, that the young have few or no safeguards against the insidious leprosy of vice,—a disease that approaches them under such various and specious forms, that they may scarcely be said, in numerous instances, to have the power of resisting it. The child who escapes such defilement, has, we solemnly believe, greater cause of gratitude to the Father of mercies, than the saint whom divine grace has armed against the flames.

But those whose childhood has been thus unfortunate, need not perpetuate the calamity upon their manhood. They may eradicate it, if they will. It will require time, and vigilant self-watching, and conflict, and prayer, to make the consciousness pure and fair; but it can be done. And it ought to be done. He who will not resolutely strive to eradicate such impurity, when he shall have realized its nature and its deprivations, is guilty of wilfully defiling the most sacred temple of the Lord. The man destitute of moral purity—though fortunate in every other respect—is cursed like the wretch to whose person a corpse was bound, which he was condemned to bear through the term of his life. He wandered through flowery plains, where all the sweetness of summer hung on the genial air—through tropical woods, where bright-plumaged birds swung on the pendant branches, and mingled their songs with the roar of the waterfall—and on the meandering shore, where the sub-base of the sea rolled in to support the milder harmonies of the night. But, with that loathsome horror lashed to him, every scene took a repulsive hue, and every sound an accent of dread. Is it an unpardonable exaggeration to compare the sensualist to one thus cumbered with corruption, and doomed to see all nature through its defiling sense? The impure heart he bears in his bosom, is not less foul because he does not confess its repulsiveness; and, by its subtle influence on his perceptions and on the sources of

his sentiments, it actually transforms the universe, and perverts the noblest realities of existence.

II. With moral purity, we would connect *the sentiment of honor*. Certain rude notions of honor appear to have been generally prevalent. They are common to the barbarian and to the civilized man. But with most men as yet, the sentiment of honor is but a perverted instinct, disclosing itself in ridiculous vindications of animal courage, that reduce a man to the level of a game-cock, instead of elevating him to the dignity of a rational being. Still the sentiment is authentic and noble; and, when corrected by the Christian principle and spirit, becomes one of the strongest safeguards, as well as best elements, of character.

Giving the sentiment of honor a Christian interpretation, we may call it the sense of *moral self-respect*—something that decides what conduct is *becoming* a rational, responsible, and immortal being. The sentiment of honor forbids falsehood—the low artifices of the demagogue—the demoralizing doctrine of expediency; it scorns every form of dishonesty, and repudiates every subterfuge of selfishness. It leads a man to estimate his position and importance in the world, by the quality of his mental attainments and the spiritual prospect opening before him; and not by the social consideration awarded him, nor by the material forces which he may direct. It leads him to discriminate between an *apparent insult*, which a savage would avenge, and a *real dishonor*, which a Christian connects with guilt.

Happy is the man who is actuated by this sentiment of honor, girding his motives with it, and bearing its badge into the secret courts where he meets his God. He is a nobleman in the kingdom of the Lord, and his seat is among the peers of the spiritual realm. But let him guard the sentiment vigilantly; for there is a subtle baseness in society that will otherwise corrode and waste it. Let him bear it with him in all places; and, like a true charm worn upon the breast, it will baffle temptation, and preserve him from much evil. But, if he lays it aside when he goes to serve his party, or while transacting his business in the city, the rust will find it, and it will crumble and perish like a disused buckler. Let him, there-

fore, wed himself to honor as to a bride, and his virtue shall be strong, and his existence fruitful.

III. A perfect character requires the development of the *social sympathies.* It is requisite that we have the spiritual consciousness that Paul exhibited, when he wrote, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak: for we are all members one of another; and if one member suffer, all the members suffer with him." Well developed social sympathies enable a man to realize his relations to his race, and to fulfil his fraternal obligations almost spontaneously. They render his intercourse with the world genial, so that men love the light of his countenance, and forget their cares in the charm of his presence. A halo of beneficence may be said to invest such a man, softening the asperities of coarser natures, and making the silent triumphs of his peaceful life more effective than imperial victories. "Man," says the book that heads our article, "man really alone, is something we can hardly imagine. He becomes cognizable almost entirely through his relations with God and with his fellow-men. Heathen philosophy sought to make man wise by withdrawing him from the passions and affections that move him when associated with his fellow-men, in order that he might devote himself to abstract truth. Christian philosophy teaches that truth owes its sanctity to the divine love, which alone gives it life; and, that by leading a life of love we acquire the power of understanding the truth. . . . The offices of piety belong in a great part to solitude, and the offices of charity to society; but the principle of *companionship* is involved in both; for piety associates us with God as charity associates us with man."[4] These words are suggestive of the fact, that man owes the development of whatever is greatest and best in his nature, to that faithful social intercommunion which is the fruit of healthy social sympathies. It is beneficently ordered that the benefits of society shall not be limited to any class—that they shall be *reciprocal,* because human nature is essentially equal; and that the most widely-severed ranks may interchange blessings, through the offices of Christian friendship, as the most

[4] Elements of Character, p. 213.

refined metropolitan shares with the rudest savage the mutual advantages of trade.[5] Not that it is necessary, while cherishing those universal sympathies which charity and humanity exact, to renounce those *peculiar* attachments which the pre-eminently good and great are fitted to win, and which we are honored in bestowing upon them; for the counsel of Thackeray is wise, where he says: "Try to frequent the company of your betters; in books and life, that is the most wholesome society; learn to admire rightly—the great pleasure of life is that."

Large social sympathies lead to that intimate acquaintance with mankind, which is the basis of correct judgment and moral esteem, and which fortifies one against cynical estimates of his fellow-beings. It may be doubted whether any man gets through the world without some strong provocations to despise human nature; particularly if his position be such as to bring him into frequent collision, or rivalry, with large masses of men. Humanity has its infirm side, and is prolific in a variety of meanness hard for faith and affection to surmount. The puerile envy of little minds will often embarrass the mental giant, as the Lilliputians bound the mighty form of Gulliver while he slept. Slanders will leap from the dark at the fairest fame, as leeches spring upon the traveller's limbs in the tropical woods. Popular caprice will baffle the best endeavors, and the chronic stupidity of ignorance will growl at the best public servant,—as apparently incapable of appreciating his worth as a herd of swine would be of admiring the graces of Apollo.

[5] Says Bishop Taylor,—"Nature hath made friendships and societies, relations and endearments; and by something or other we relate to all the world; there is enough in every man that is willing to make him become our friend; but when men contract friendships, they inclose the commons; and what nature intended should be every man's, we make proper to two or three. Friendship is like rivers, and the strand of seas and the air—common to all the world; but tyrants and evil customs, wars and want of love, have made them proper and peculiar. But when Christianity came to renew our nature, and to restore our laws, and to increase her privileges, ... then it was declared that our friendships were to be as universal as our conversation; that is, *actual* to all with whom we converse, and *potentially extended* unto those with whom we did not. For he who was to treat his enemies with forgiveness and prayers, and love and beneficence, was indeed to have no enemies, and to have all friends."—*From a Discourse on the Nature, Offices, and Measures of Friendship.*

Frequently the most generous natures—who entered the world full of confiding trust and self-denying love—have recoiled into skepticism and misanthropy, on obtaining a practical knowledge of human duplicity. It is sad that such beings should ever become thus perverted, and that a *cause* should exist adequate to such a result. But we must have patience with these trials, and not allow personal experiences of meanness to dictate a theory of the absolute character of the race. Every pictured landscape has its phase of light, to show where the sunshine falls; and so every true vision of humanity or of Providence, has its gleam of promise opening up into the eternal future, where God sheds the full orb of His completed purpose over all the austerities and abuses of time. If we will humbly mingle with, and patiently study, our race; if we will survey them in all their attitudes, and under the prismatic lights that stream upon them from the ever-shifting world,—we shall find them still worthy of our respect and affection; for we shall *then* know—not only the vices by which they are subdued and made guilty, but those also which they *resist*, and thereby become noble. Thus shall we enrich our character by the exercise of mercy.

IV. We come now to the crown of character, which is *religious fidelity*. As religion is the greatest of realities, every well-adjusted nature will enthrone it over all its interests.[6] Religious fidelity consists in subjecting the selfish passions or desires, to a recognized law of right, having its source in God, and its sanction in the weal of mankind. It is realized, not in conforming ourselves to

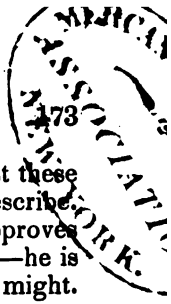
[6] I quote the following illustrative passage from the Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, by his Widow:—"In the head of all his virtues, I shall set that which was the head and spring of them all—his Christianity; for this alone is the true royal blood that runs through the whole body of virtue, and every pretender to that glorious family, who has no tincture of it, is an impostor. This is that same fountain which baptizeth all the gentle virtues that so immortalize the names of the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated, and take a new name and nature. Dug up in the wilderness of nature, and dipped in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the paradise of God. By Christianity, I intend that universal [perpetual?] habit of grace which is wrought in a soul by the regenerating spirit of God, whereby the whole creature is resigned up into the Divine will and love, and all its actions directed to the obedience and glory of its Maker."

the world, but in *transforming* ourselves, by the renewing of our mind, that we may know what is the good, and acceptable and perfect will of God. The highest triumph of such fidelity is seen when the human will is brought into harmony with the Divine will,—when the renovated heart images on its calm surface the spirit and majesty of the Eternal Father,—when the strife of conflicting desires has ceased, and the victorious soul stands forth in the unclouded proportions of its greatness.

In closing, let us indicate by what *method* religious fidelity may be expected to manifest itself in practical life. In the first place, it will make a man devoted to what he conceives to be *truth;* for he will recognize in truth the chief renovating power of providence, and will feel, with the devout philosopher, that it is no less than the body of the Almighty. He will not extend his elastic toleration alike over all dogmas, having no real faith in any; but will groove the outlines of his convictions upon the plane of his thought, and make them stand out in bold relief. "I persuade myself," says Middleton, "that the life and faculties of man, at the best but short and limited, cannot be employed more rationally or laudably than in the search of knowledge; and especially of that sort which relates to our duty, and conduces to our happiness. In these inquiries, therefore, wherever I perceive any glimmering of truth before me, I readily pursue and endeavor to trace it to its source, without any reserve or caution of pushing the discovery too far, or opening too great a glare of it to the public. I look upon the discovery of any thing which is true as a valuable acquisition of society, which cannot possibly hurt or obstruct the good effect of any other truth whatsoever; for they all partake of one common essence, and necessarily coincide with each other." Says Lord Bacon, "The inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of our nature." [6]

Religious fidelity will also enlist a man against prominent *social abuses*, such as intemperance and slavery.

[7] Montagu's Selections; notes, p. 224.



We do not say that it will lead him to act against these by any *special method*, which another man may prescribe. The *method* may be such as his own conscience approves as wisest; but by some method—in some manner—he is bound to strive against them, and with all his might. For how can he pray that God's kingdom may come, and His will be done here on earth, if the activities of his life do not correspond with the petition—if he does not labor to ensure the result he professes to desire? Well has Milton said, "I can not praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary; but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." To the same end, Bacon tells us that the life "which does not cast any beam of heat or light upon human society, is not known to divinity; and the necessity of advancing the public good censures that philosophy which flies perturbations."

And, lastly, religious fidelity demands that the Christian spirit shall be recognized in the province of legislation, and that justice shall be the corner-stone of a nation's greatness. A character such as we have portrayed, will not sanction the craft of demagogues,—nor wink at the base artifices of partizans,—nor rejoice in those schemes of unhallowed ambition, by which a nation's territory is augmented at the price of its honor. The upright and perfect man is the only true patriot—the only competent or safe politician; for he alone knows the sources of a country's real prosperity, and can alone furnish the elements of enduring national greatness.

A people can not commit a greater blunder, than to select for their rulers and representatives, men who are destitute of moral and religious qualifications. What *can* be more threatening to a nation's safety, or more discreditable to its moral sense, than to elevate into a place of trust and power, a man who has neither the fear of God to restrain him, nor the sentiment of honor to redeem the rottenness of his heart. Better to rely upon the unperverted instincts of the uneducated, than to peril the peace of the country, and bring suspicion upon our own moral consciousness, by giving the reins of authority into such reckless hands.

Where, indeed, is character more imperatively required, and where do its proportions display themselves more effectively, than in the legislative halls of a great nation? On such a responsible scene, crowded with momentous interests, and overshadowed by awful temptations, character appears invested with a solemn propriety. And, as it stands at the stormy source of national action, with the perspective of history for its background, and the auroral gleam of Christian promise on its brow—moderating by its wisdom, and propelling by its energy, those counsels and interests that are to influence the destiny of ages—the world does not exhibit a sublimer spectacle. E. W. R.

Art. XII.

Tertullian.

The student of church history naturally cherishes a peculiar reverence for the names next in order upon the list of worthies after the apostles themselves, namely, the *Apostolic Fathers.* Nor is that reverence commonly limited to them. Even to their successors, the early Christian Fathers, though one step farther removed from the days of special illumination, we quite unconsciously transfer a portion of the glory of the New Testament times. As we grope our way through the conflicts and darkness of ages back to the earlier Christian times, and stand at less than a century's remove from the Apostle John, we *seem* to exchange friendly salutations with the "beloved disciple," and to catch the apostolic hue of Christian truth.

The reasons of this *seeming* may not be altogether obvious. It may be that "distance lends enchantment to the view." It may be that the scantiness of their personal history throws around them an air of mysterious dignity, and enhances in our minds their real greatness. And it

may be that our imaginations are inflamed by the simple proximity of the Fathers to the days of wondrous providences. But whatever may be the reasons of such investiture of greatness, the fact itself is undeniable on the one hand, and the lack of sufficient historical warrant therefor is equally undeniable on the other.

The *Apostolic* Fathers were in part cotemporary with the apostles themselves, and are supposed to have been instructed by them. Their writings, however, contrast most strikingly with those of the apostles in the New Testament, both in regard to their subject-matter, and the mode of its presentation. To account for this, is a problem, the solution of which requires a recognition of other than merely human influences. These writings fall within a period of about sixty years, reaching from A. D. 90, to A. D. 150. Had the Apostolic Fathers written with the same general and specific helps as were enjoyed by the apostles, qualified by those influences only which naturally arise in a changing, or even deteriorating, state of society, we might still have found change, but it would have been gradual change. We should not have seen a sudden dropping down from a heavenly altitude nearly to the level of earth-born philosophies.

Admit the hypothesis of the divine interposition, and the problem becomes easy of solution. The apostles, by the divine afflatus, were lifted far above the general level of their times. They were alike distinguished from those who went before them, and those who followed after. Deprived of this divine aid, the Apostolic Fathers, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of their times, were compelled to grapple with the great problems of Christianity as best they could. The claim of its simple facts became too manifest to be resisted by them. With the admission of those facts, there were introduced into human consciousness new moral forces which struggled continually for dominion. The guidance of inspiration having been withdrawn, it cannot be thought surprising that this struggle was but partially successful. It is the work of ages for the mind to *perceive* the full relations of a new thought to the mass of one's former ideas. And it is a still greater work, when that relation *is* perceived, to subject the whole soul to the sway of the new truth; to bring all

one's passions, affections, and aspirations, into loyalty to its power.

However feeble was the dominion of Christianity during the period immediately succeeding the apostles, such season of weakness was a necessary prelude to the fuller development of its power. Neander well remarks: "A phenomenon singular in its kind, is the striking difference between the writings of the apostles and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, who were so nearly their cotemporaries. In other cases, transitions are wont to be gradual; but in this instance we observe a sudden change. There are here no gentle gradations, but all at once an abrupt transition from one style of language to another; a phenomenon which should lead us to acknowledge the fact of a special agency of the Divine Spirit in the souls of the apostles. After the times of the first extraordinary operations of the Holy Ghost, followed the period of the free development of human nature in Christianity; and here, as in all other cases, the beginnings must be small and feeble, before the effects of Christianity could penetrate more widely, and bring fully under their influence the great powers of the human mind. It was to be shown first, what the divine power could effect by the foolishness of preaching."[1]

Christianity having been thus established among the spiritual forces of the time, and its leading *facts*, which had thus far engrossed almost exclusive attention, being acknowledged, there soon grew up a necessity for defending the *principles* it involved. This work devolved in a large measure upon those immediate successors of the Apostolic fathers known as the *early* Christian Fathers.

Although the philosophy of Christian truth, previous to A. D. 150, had been comparatively little dwelt upon, yet the corrupting influence of Paganism had already begun to be felt. As Christianity won to itself admirers from the walks of philosophy no less than from the lower classes of society, it attracted proportionally the attention of men of learning from beyond the ranks of its professors. It was by no means unnatural that the subsequent development of Christianity should be largely moulded by the Pagan thought with which it was continually in contact.

[1] *Neander's* History of the Christian Religion and Church. Vol. I. *pp. 656 and 657.*

Two circumstances, especially, would lead almost of necessity to such a result. Those Christians who themselves had been converted from Paganism, must have seen Christianity through Pagan eyes; and, while it won their honest admiration, it could but be more or less colored by the medium through which they saw it. But though the distortion of Christianity began here, it by no means ended here. A strong desire to make the new religion as acceptable as possible to their old companions, would lead the new converts, especially from the ranks of the philosophers, to employ Pagan formulas in the statement of Christian truths. Christianity would thus be made to wear more and more the hue of unsanctified philosophy. It is quite obvious that the kernels of most of the heresies which sprang up in the earlier times, were but Pagan ideas striving to palm themselves off as Christian verities. And the form of Christianity which at length gained general acceptance and became the orthodoxy of the Church, was far from being unaffected by the unhallowed contact.

While Paganism was thus moulding Christianity on the one hand, Judaism was exerting a similar influence on the other. And the divine sanction which had attended Judaism, gave it peculiar power. That power early showed itself in dissensions respecting Jewish ceremonies among the apostles themselves.

Notwithstanding Christianity was thus contaminated on either hand, its development was carried forward with surprising rapidity. In the double work, however, of defining Christianity as a system of truths, and of exhibiting its bearing upon existing religions, the wisest of the Fathers found an ample field for the exercise of their judgment, and abundant opportunity for the testing of their philosophical acumen.

As the work progressed, new controversies were continually arising, and new obligations of duty were supposed to be enjoined upon the professors of Christian truth. These requirements were represented to be more or less imperative, according to the temper and cast of mind of those who urged them. Hence there was no less controversy respecting Christian duty than there was respecting Christian truth.

The extent to which the corruptions of Christianity

might thus reach during the first century or two, may be proximately inferred from certain phenomena of our own time. Within a single century, the religious faith of Germany, for instance, has oscillated from a definite Bible foundation to the extreme of Rationalism, and back again. The sect of Mormons, also, planting themselves upon the baldest absurdities to which the human mind has ever assented, has risen within a quarter of a century, from the feeblest beginnings, and in spite of the severest reverses of fortune, to be a prosperous and influential community. But an illustration still more to our present purpose, is found in the revival of some of the earlier heresies of the Church—if those views can be called heresies of the Church, which had found previous place in the systems of Paganism. I allude to the supposed communications with spirits, and the gaining through them of a knowledge of divine things, which have taken such a hold upon the public mind within some half dozen years. Without entering into any criticism of these phenomena, we may be permitted to remark that the scholar will find them substantially anticipated in the pretensions of some of the heretical sects of the second or third century, and still earlier by the fanciful theories of some of the Pagan philosophers. Such rapid growth of errors in our own time, serves to illustrate what *may* have happened in the days of the Christian Fathers.

It will be seen, therefore, that in studying the most celebrated of the Christian Fathers, though we may be instructed by their style of thinking, by their forms of argumentation, and by their historic facts, we cannot surrender ourselves to their guidance. Not only must we deny them any portion of that authority which belongs to the apostles; but we cannot assume, *à priori*, that they are tolerable expositors of Christian truth.

Having thus glanced at some of the leading circumstances attending the early conflicts and development of Christianity, and thereby cleared the way for a dispassionate consideration of the subject more immediately in hand, we pass to a notice of the life and character of one of the most eminent of the Christian Fathers. If that life shall appear to lack the stirring incidents which mark the career of Constantine, or that character to be desti-

tute of the genial hopefulness of Origen, let it be remembered that it is the business of the historian to present his subject, not in the garb most agreeable to himself, but in that which it really wears.

Tertullian was a native of Carthage, in North Africa. He could boast an honorable parentage in a proconsular centurion of the African province. The precise period of his birth is not known. It must, however, have been near the middle of the second century. It has been ascribed by Allix to as early a date as A. D. 145;[2] and by other authors to as late a date as A. D. 160.[3] Tradition ascribed to him a great age; yet he is supposed to have died A. D. 220. He was educated a Pagan, and trained to the profession of the law. He became a convert to Christianity probably before middle life, but in what year is not known. He is commonly reputed to have been honored with the office of presbyter in the Church of Carthage, his native city, in which it is probable he spent the chief portion of his life. But some suppose him to have been a presbyter in the Church of Rome; while the Romanists, moved chiefly by their doctrine of the celibacy of the clergy, in connection with the fact that Tertullian is well-known to have been married, deny that he held the office of presbyter at all.

While Tertullian was at the height of his fame, probably about A. D. 200, he adopted the views of Montanus, of whom we shall hereafter find occasion to speak, and thenceforward defended them with his usual zeal and earnestness.

To great strength and acuteness of mind, he added a large measure of erudition and an uncompromising spirit. He was a man, in many respects, well fitted to his time. Living in an age of persecution, he not only proved himself possessed of a heroic spirit, but he exerted an immense influence in stimulating his brethren to make such sacrifices as the Christian cause demanded.

In the closing appeal of his Apology to the Persecutors of the Christians, he uses the following stirring lan-

[2] Kaye's (Bishop of Bristol) Ecclesiastical History.

[3] Mosheim's Institutes of Ecclesiastical History. Translated by Murdock, vol. I. p. 149.

guage: "Go on, magistrates; sacrifice to the fury of an incensed rabble, ten thousand Christians; devise new and exquisite tortures; judge, condemn, and, if you can, utterly extirpate us. Yet know, that your barbarity shall only give a brighter lustre to our innocence. God suffers us to be thus tried in the furnace of affliction that our purity may shine the brighter. . . . . Go on. All your wicked devices are to no purpose; they only bring more over to our religion. Where you mow down one Christian, ten rise in his room. *And the martyr's blood is the seed of the Church.* . . . . Where is the man, who, when he observes our invincible patience and constancy, does not inquire into our religion and principles? Where the man, who, after having embraced it, does not *wish* for pains and sufferings, that God would give him an opportunity to seal his religion with his blood, and atone for his idolatry? Remission of sins is the reward of martyrdom, and that is the reason we always thank the judge that condemns us. For there is that happy difference between man's judgment and God's, that the same moment you condemn us here on earth, he seals our pardon, and pronounces us innocent in heaven."

Such sentiments which are often met with in Tertullian's writings, when heartily believed and made the basis of a direct appeal to the Christians to brave death, could but exert a most manifest and important influence.

His writings, almost exclusively polemic in their character, exhibit some of the worst traits of his mind, and show him to have been no stranger to the less amiable phases of the human heart. His severity and vituperation increased with his years; and the careful student of his life can hardly doubt that some of the most objectionable items of his faith were the fruit no less of his own mind, than of the sacred oracles which he *sought* honestly to expound. Neander says, "We find the new wine in an old bottle; and the tang it has contracted there, may easily embarrass the inexperienced judge."[4] Though wanting many of the elegances of style, his writings were in high repute among the Fathers, and especially with

[4] Neander's History, &c., vol. I. p. 683.

Cyprian, who was in the habit of reading them daily, and who, when calling for them, was accustomed to say,— "Give me my master."

There is a tone of exaggeration in Tertullian's writings, naturally flowing from his warm deep feelings and his fiery disposition. Alluding, for example, to the influence of prayer, he uses the most violent terms as expressive of its power over the Almighty. "We roll," says he, "in sackcloth and ashes; and in that melancholy condition, attack heaven with the powerful artillery of our prayers and tears, surmounting his indignation, and forcing his pity and compassion."[5]

Speaking of evil spirits and of the power which Christians had over them, he says, "We gall them with the loud artillery of our prayers, and baffle all their subtleties and wicked contrivances."[6]

Again: speaking of the corruptions of his time, after alluding to the laws and consequent morality of preceding periods, he says, "But times are changed. For where is the woman that does not even sink under the weight of gold and jewels? Where the woman you can salute without the offensive smell of brandy? Rape and adultery are authorized, and all the bands of society are cancelled. Divorce, once so very rare that not an instance of it is recorded as having taken place in the wide domain of the Roman Empire for near six hundred years, is now the natural consequence of marriage. You marry to divorce, and divorce to marry."[7]

Thoroughly convinced of the truth of Christianity, Tertullian halts at no midway goal. His habit of mind, acquired as an advocate or rhetorician, led him to accumulate whatever facts and arguments would help his cause, and little inclined him to give even due weight to any opposing considerations. If he sometimes lost the feeling of simple truth, it should be placed to the account of an ardent temperament, an unbridled and sensuous imagination, and the lack of habits of logical and scientific statement, rather than insincerity of heart, or laxity of will.

What Tertullian says about the miraculous powers of Christians in his time, should probably be credited to his

[5] Apology, Sect. liii. [6] Ib. Sect. xxxix. [7] Ib. Sect. vi.

intemperate controversial zeal. Thus, in endeavoring to show that the gods of the heathen are really demons, he proposes that one of the pagan priests "full of divinity and inspiration," and "boasting the power of a mighty god," shall be confronted with a Christian. "If the Christian," says he, "does not discover the cheat, and make him confess himself a devil before you all, he shall forfeit his life, and be hanged upon the next tree! What proof can be more infallible? Here is no room for deception or legerdemain! We dare appeal to your senses, your eyes and ears. Here is nothing but naked inartificial truth. If these spirits are really gods, what makes them own themselves devils?"[8] He even cites specific instances of visions to different persons, chiefly females, in attestation of opinions which he is at the time defending.[9] And yet the aggregate testimony for miracles in the Christian church, at this period, is so slight, that these claims of Tertullian, as also his miracle of the thundering legion, have exercised the judgment of historians, and tried their patience not a little.

Tertullian, however, is worthy of especial attention as the leader of a movement for the systematizing of the theology of the North African church. And though comparatively little was done in his time, an impulse was imparted in the direction of a severer and more rigid style of faith, which continued to increase in momentum during two centuries, and at length, through the powerful influence of Augustine, gained widest sway over the whole Western church.

The works of Tertullian consist of about thirty short treatises, most of which are strongly polemic in their character. These works are commonly divided into three classes; namely, Apologetic, or in controversy with Pagans and Jews; Doctrinal, or refutation of heretics; and Moral, in defence or refutation of certain practices or rules of conduct.

The most celebrated of the first class is his famous Apology, a second edition of which was at length issued under another name than that borne by the first. Though it compares favorably with similar treatises of his time, it is far from being a full defence of Christianity. It aims

[8] Apology, Sect. xxxiv. [9] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 105.

rather, at exposing the inconsistencies of the persecutors of the Christians; and while exculpating Christianity from the slanderous charges made against it, Tertullian shows that, if turned against Paganism, those charges would be valid. Of his remaining apologetic works, the principal are a Tract on the testimony of common-sense to the truths of Christianity; an Expostulation with a pagan magistrate; and a Treatise proving from the Old Testament that Jesus was the Messiah and Christianity true.

His doctrinal writings are upon such topics as the following: A Treatise on baptism, and another against a female named Quintilla, who belonged to a sect of wild and profligate fanatics called Cainites, who denied the necessity and efficacy of baptism;[10] while yet another was a Refutation of all heresies collectively, on general principles. His fifth book Against Marcion, his books Against the Valentinians, and those Against Praxeas and Hermogenes, are also doctrinal in their character. So is his Antidote against the Scorpions, or Gnostics, who had no martyrs among them, and who were in great discredit with Tertullian on that account; his Essay on the reality of Christ's death on the cross; another on the resurrection; and his Refutation of the opinions of the philosophers in regard to the soul.

His works of the third class, the chief of which are commonly believed to have been written after he became a Montanist, are mainly in defence of the principles of that sect, and against the practices of the Christians in general. Among the exceptions to this remark, are his work on prayer, and another designed to comfort believers in the trials of martyrdom. We must mention, also, among his works of this class written before he became a Montanist, a book addressed to his wife, warning her against a second marriage, if she should become a widow, and especially against marrying a Pagan; another warning Christians against attending theatres, and engaging in idolatrous ceremonies, or even witnessing them; and yet another on penitence and penance for sin.

After he became a Montanist he wrote treatises on several subjects, one of which is designed to honor a soldier for suffering punishment rather than to accept a military

[10] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 19.

crown; others condemn the custom of young ladies appearing abroad unveiled, their attention to dress, and their adorning of their persons. In still other tracts, he condemns efforts to escape persecution by flight; endeavors to show the criminality of second marriages; defends the Montanist custom of frequent fasting against the general Christian practice; maintains that offenders, especially by unchastity, should never be restored to communion in the church; and recommends the Grecian cloak instead of the Roman toga, as an outer garment. Dr. Murdock, whose classification of the works of Tertullian I have here mainly followed, mentions several others which have not reached our time. Among these lost works were seven books in defence of the Montanists; one on the believer's hope; one on paradise; and one on Aaron's garments.

It is upon the works of Tertullian, of course, that historians chiefly depend to learn his opinions and modes of thought. And since every man must speak and write from the fulness of his own soul, we find stamped upon his treatises, his warmth, his profundity, his undisciplined imagination, his tendency to exaggeration, and his ardent though untrained love of system.

The general cast of his mind predisposed him to give a favorable reception to the views of Montanus, which views subsequently qualified his whole style of thinking. And their influence was especially detrimental to him. Falling in with the natural bent of his mind, they exaggerated what was already a distortion of the truth, and they have extended their influence to our own time, in the severer aspects of Christianity which still prevail.

Judaism was a religion of precepts and ceremonies. Christianity, on the other hand, introduces the very soul of obedience. It proposes to transfuse itself through the whole of our every-day life, thus making the Church more and more independent of formal commands. The outward and preceptive, therefore, are transient; while Christianity, by transcending the imperativeness of the letter, enthrones that love which is the "fulfilling of the law." Now, Montanus, who was a native of Phrygia, and who had made his peculiarities felt in the Church while Tertullian was still a young man, clung fast to the formal precept as something permanent, and thus perpetuated the Jewish legal position.

But, on the other hand, by cherishing a rapturous state of feeling, and giving himself up to extatic trances, Montanus sacrificed clearness of understanding, and in this regard leaned towards the Pagan position. He interpreted of himself the promise of the Master to send the Comforter who should lead men into all truth; and he believed this was to be accomplished by specific revelations on a variety of topics, respecting which Christ himself did not speak. He believed himself a prophet of God, sent to unfold new truths; to announce the approaching persecutions of the church, the judgments of God upon the persecutors, the second coming of Christ, and his millennial reign upon the earth.

The province of Phrygia was especially distinguished for its fanaticism and superstition, its belief in magic and extatic transports, and its visionary expectations in regard to an approaching millennial reign of Christ upon the earth, in consequence of the surprising victories which the church was about to achieve. Educated in an atmosphere like this, Montanus readily fell into extatic raptures, and believed himself the blind organ of the Holy Ghost, which oracularly foretold through him the approaching persecutions, triumphs, and blessedness of the church. Of his enthusiastic oracular sayings, the following, in which Deity is represented as speaking through him, may be taken as one of the most extravagant: "I am the Lord, the Almighty God, who take up my abode in man. I am neither an angel, nor a messenger; but I am come as the Lord himself, God the Father."

Two women, Priscilla and Maximilla, joined themselves to Montanus, and claimed to be regarded as prophetesses. Montanus drew after him many and influential followers. He called them to a more rigid life, multiplied occasions for fasting, *recommended* celibacy, and *prohibited* second marriages altogether. Apollonius declares that Montanus recommended married persons to separate; that Priscilla and Maximilla followed his advice and abandoned their husbands; and that his followers in general made religion a source of profit, and were licentious in their conduct.[11] Neander, on the contrary, informs us that the new spirit

[11] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 16.

of these prophets *taught* contempt of life and of all earthly things, in view of the approaching end of the world.[12]

Epiphanius represents the Montanists as believing in both the Old and New Testaments, in the resurrection of the dead, and in the doctrine of the trinity. Montanus himself, according to Tertullian, introduced many novel illustrations of the latter doctrine, "denied to the church the power of granting absolution to persons guilty of flagrant offences—particularly to adulterers and fornicators—and maintained that Christians were not at liberty to avoid persecution by flight, or to purchase their safety with money."[13]

Montanus taught that a desolate spot, once the site of a town in his native province of Phrygia, was to be the location of the heavenly Jerusalem.[14]

Such in very brief were some of the leading views of Montanus, of whom Tertullian became a follower. From the peculiar claims of Montanus, it will be seen that to espouse his cause was a very different matter from espousing the cause of Origen or of Clemens Alexandrinus. These latter presented themselves in the character of able teachers simply. One might rationally accept a portion of their opinions, and greatly qualify the remainder, or reject them altogether. But it was otherwise with the teachings of Montanus. He did not profess to utter opinions, but truth. He claimed to be the prophet of God, the promised Comforter, who should lead men into all truth. The vital step in becoming his follower, consisted in admitting this central claim; and, having done this, one could not logically reject any portion of his teachings.

It may be that rigid consistency would have shut up his followers to the exact measure of his own teachings. It does not appear, however, that Montanus pushed his claims to this extent, or that the more distinguished of his followers restricted themselves to the truths he oracularly announced. Tertullian, at least, both in the interpretation of Scripture, and in the solution of various problems which lay outside of the Montanistic revelations, exercised his own judgment, and freely presented his own opinions.

[12] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 515. [13] Kaye's Ec. His. pp. 17 & 20.
[14] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 18.

For instance: while Tertullian, following the teachings of Montanus, "denied to the church the power of forgiving certain sins in this life, he still supposed the offender, upon sincere repentance, might, through the blood of Christ, obtain pardon in the world to come."[15] Thus he accepted Montanism, but did not hesitate to go beyond the announcements of Montanus.

With this brief statement of the claims and opinions of Montanus, and with the additional fact before us that Tertullian acknowledged those claims and espoused those opinions, we have the general theology of Tertullian already so far determined. There are many particulars, however, either not embraced in what we have presented, or not sufficiently defined thereby, to which we must direct more especial attention.

Tertullian believed that all human souls are derived from one common source, the soul of Adam. And since, according to his philosophy, one thing cannot act upon another of a different kind, and since the soul does act upon the body, the soul must be corporeal like the body. He supposed it to have figure, to be simple in substance, rational, intelligent, immortal; endued with free-will, influenced by external circumstances, designed to rule the whole man, and possessing an insight—not prophetic, however—into futurity.[16]

When Adam sinned, from being purely rational, his soul became possessed of certain irrational qualities infused into it by the devil. Thenceforward God and the devil bore a joint paternity to the soul of Adam, the rational and irrational qualities of which have been propagated to all souls by the ordinary law of generation.[17]

It would appear, however, that Tertullian scarcely held these irrational qualities, as he terms them, to be equivalent to the doctrine of original sin subsequently taught in the church. For, recommending delay in administering baptism to children, he asks, "*Why should the age of innocence be in haste to obtain the remission of sins?*"[18] Though on this point the inconsistencies of his language leave some doubt, it is probable that he held what subsequently became the germ of the doctrine of original sin.

However this may be, it is quite certain that he did not

[15] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 319. [16] Ib. p. 204. [17] Ib. ch. iii. [18] Ib. p. 325.

[illegible] doctrine of the total corruption of our nature. Neander understands Tertullian to teach that the soul is Christian by nature; that there is an irrepressible, immediate, religious consciousness in common life. In the controversy between the Monotheism of Christianity and the Polytheism of Paganism, Tertullian adduces what he calls the involuntary utterances of this voice of God in man, alluded to in such ejaculations as, "Great God"—"good God"—"God is my witness"—"God will requite me" and the like, as evidence for Christianity against Paganism,[19] thus recognizing the voice of truth in the soul even with all corruption. We are not left, however, to uncertain inference on this point; for Tertullian distinctly says, "Men differ widely in their moral characters, yet the souls of all form but one genus. In the worst there is something good; in the best there is something bad."[20]

The whole doctrine of devils, then freshly imported from Pagan philosophy, was much more elaborated in Tertullian's time than it is in our own; and no presentation of his theology that does not embrace this doctrine can be complete. From a large class of apostate spirits falling from heaven through pride and ambition, had sprung another race of spirits still more corrupt, called demons. Their ruling principle was supposed to be hostility to man, whom they constantly attend, annoy, and [illegible] injure. Socrates, with all his wisdom, it was believed, was attended by one of these demons. They blast the corn, nip the fruit in the bud, spread abroad distempers, infect the atmosphere, inflame the passions of men, excite their anger, incline them to lust and debauchery, and urge them into extremes of folly and extravagance. But they were supposed to show their wickedness most clearly by promoting idolatry, in order to secure the savory scent of their sacrifices, and the blood of their slaughtered beasts.

Tertullian affirms that these demons could traverse the whole world in a single moment of time, and thus could know what was passing at the same instant in distant parts of the universe. By this means they gained the reputation of being prophets, and even passed themselves

[19] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. pp. 177 & 178. [20] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 322.

off for gods. They watched the revolutions of ages, and inferred from them, and from the divine word, the changes which were likely to transpire in the immediate future. They foretold the weather; inflicted distempers on men and then cured them, and cheated and seduced mankind in ways innumerable.[21]

Tertullian imputes to these demons one form of deception which leads us almost to feel that he is describing certain phenomena of our own time. "Do not your magicians," says he, "perform very amazing feats? call ghosts and departed souls from the shades below; and by their infernal charms represent an infinite number of delusions? And how do they perform all this, but by the assistance of evil angels and demons, by which they are able to make stools and tables prophecy! Now if these spirits," says he, "act in such a wonderful manner to serve magicians, how much more will they exert themselves when 'tis for their own pleasure and on their own account!"[22]

Tertullian proceeds to show that the pretended wonders of the Pagan gods, also, are wrought by these demons; and claims that the Christians of his time could make them convict themselves in the very presence of their philosophers. Claiming to be gods, they could make them confess themselves devils. He challenges them to deny that they are already "damned to everlasting misery; and only wait for the universal judgment to have their tortures complete."

Created to be messengers of God, those who have not sinned still continue in their original employment. Thus one angel presides over prayer; another over baptism; and another watches over men in their dying moments. While the duties of *angels* are thus classified, each individual is supposed to have his own attending demon.[23]

Upon the doctrine of justification by faith and regeneration, no controversy had arisen in the days of Tertullian. He believed that through faith in Christ and through baptism men would be saved. But whether a heathen, who never heard of Christ, can be saved, he seems never to

[21] Apology, sects. xxxii. & xxxiii. [22] Ib. sect. xxxiv.

[23] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 219.

have inquired. Bishop Kaye thinks that if that question had occurred to him, his belief in the necessity of baptism would have compelled him to answer in the negative.[24] He doubtless sometimes maintained the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation, ascribing to it a supernatural efficacy, and denied the sufficiency of faith alone; yet at other times Neander understands him to teach that "it is faith which in baptism obtains forgiveness of sins, and that true faith wherever present is sure of salvation."[25] Tertullian had not learned to distinguish between the outward sign and the inward reality. Similar remarks will apply to his views of the Lord's Supper, a rite to which he sometimes ascribes a miraculous influence. Hence it was not unfrequently administered to infants in connexion with infant baptism.[26] The truth is, Tertullian was no more consistent than are Christians of the present day, who declare faith in this life to be essential to salvation, and yet believe in the salvation of infants, idiots, and heathen, none of whom have faith.

In the earlier part of his life, Tertullian sometimes taught that all crimes might be forgiven once after baptism; but at a later date he implies that those guilty of the most heinous offences, such as idolatry, apostacy, and murder, can never be re-admitted to the communion of the church. After he became a Montanist, and his natural severity had increased and become religiously confirmed, he was more explicit on this point. Among the venial sins which might be forgiven by the church, he enumerates being present at Pagan spectacles, working at any trade which promotes idolatry, or using any expression which might be construed into a denial of the faith. Falsehood, evil-speaking, rash swearing, and acts of violence, were also placed in the same class.

Among those whom the church could not forgive, he enumerates, with much emphasis, adulterers and fornicators; besides idolators, manslayers, and those who contract a second marriage. No penitence, however sincere, can secure to these re-admission to the church. But he distinctly admits that sincere penitence may secure their reception into the kingdom of heaven.[27]

[24] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 341. [25] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 646.

[26] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 648. [27] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 254-257.

According to Neander, "Tertullian was the first to express clearly the doctrine that Christ possessed a proper human soul, at once the animating principle of the human body, and the seat of reason, thought, and all of man's superior powers." Christ's death and sufferings, Tertullian regarded as the foundation of man's salvation. But in what way they contribute to this end, his language is not sufficiently explicit to determine. No mention had yet been made, according to Neander, of satisfaction rendered by the sufferings of Christ to the divine justice. A very different doctrine prevailed in Tertullian's time, and was distinctly stated both by Irenæus and Origen. It is, that Christ's death has a necessary connexion with the deliverance of man from the power of Satan; inasmuch as it was to Satan, and not to God, that the ransom was paid.[28]

Notwithstanding Tertullian ascribed to Christ a proper human soul, he still believed him to have proceeded from the Father and to be of one essence with the Father; as a ray of light proceeds from the sun, and is of one essence with it. He believed Christ, however, a distinct person, and subordinate to the Father. The Holy Ghost, in like manner, he held to be of the same essence as both Father and Son, but a proper person distinct from both. Thus he held to a real trinity; but admitted the subordination of Christ, which would have been heresy in a later age.[29] It is worthy of remark, in this connexion, that however unlike Tertullian's view of the trinity may be to that which is at present deemed evangelical, he was the first Christian writer, according to Semler, who used the words trinity and person, in speaking of the Godhead.[30]

Respecting the great doctrine of the resurrection, Tertullian holds the following language: "The same body and soul must be again united. Indeed, it is nothing but what is absolutely necessary to the great end of the universal judgment; namely, that the same man who lived a good or a bad life here upon our earth, may rise to receive the rewards or punishments due to his good or his evil action. And the body must necessarily rise; for the torments can not be complete, unless the flesh, which is

[28] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. pp. 642 & 643. [29] Ib. vol. i. p. 605.

[30] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 549.

the sensible part, has its share in the sufferings. Indeed, it is but just that, as they sinned together, so they should share alike in those dreadful pains which God shall inflict upon impenitent sinners."[31]

It is seen from this extract, that Tertullian believed that the punishment of the wicked will consist of physical bodily suffering. He calls them "dreadful pains." In another place he speaks of them as "eternal flames," reserved by God in the bowels of the earth, to punish hardened sinners.[32]

Tertullian presses the philosophers with the consideration that the doctrine of the resurrection should not be considered unreasonable, especially by them. "But come," says he, "let a philosopher prepare a set speech; and with great confidence, and a florid delivery, harangue upon the doctrine of the metempsychosis; tell you, with an air of gravity, that this *man* was once a horse, this snake a woman; would not you believe him? I am sure you would; I know what footing this absurd doctrine has gained in the world. Many of you scruple to *eat* an ox or a sheep, for fear of dining upon one of your deceased relations. And yet, when *we* preach the resurrection,—that these bodies, though reduced to ashes, and mouldered into dust, shall rise again, and be united with the soul into the same man,—what scoffs and jeers! Stocks and stones are powerful arguments with which you confute this displeasing doctrine. If it is reasonable to believe that the souls of men transmigrate from one body to another, why is it not at least as reasonable that they should return again into the same bodies which are properly to be restored; that is, to be what they were before."[33]

Tertullian does not appear to have felt the weight of those objections to such gross notions of the resurrection of the body, as have been urged in modern times, and drawn from that continual change in the matter of the body, which the processes of life occasion. And with the narrow and limited conceptions of the earthly body possessed by him, he would hardly have been able to solve those objections, had they occurred to him.

Origen, on the other hand, according to Neander, "distinguished from the mutable phenomenal form, the

[31] Apology, sect. lxii. [32] Ib. lxi. [33] Ib. lxii.

proper essence lying at the foundation of the body, which remains the same through all the changes of the earthly life, and which, moreover, is not destroyed at death. This proper essence lying at the foundation of the body would, by the operation of the divine power, be awakened to a nobler form, corresponding to the ennobled character of the soul; so that, as the soul had communicated its own peculiar stamp to the earthly body, it would then communicate the same to the transfigured body. In proof of this he alleges, that the identity of the body in *this* life consists not in its momently changing phenomenal form, which had been fitly compared to a flowing stream, but in the peculiar stamp which the soul impresses on the body, whereby it becomes the proper form of manifestation of this or that particular personality." [34]

There is an acuteness in this philosophy which undoubtedly perceives the objections already alluded to; and if the existence of such a proper unchanging essence at the foundation of the body, and belonging specifically to the body rather than the soul, be granted, it seems adequate to their solution. But the existence of such an essence can hardly be granted. And Origen himself seems to admit that the identity of the body is not properly inherent in the body itself, but is preserved by its connexion with the soul.

From what has already been observed, it will be seen that Tertullian looks to the future world as the theatre of adequate rewards and punishments. "God," he says, "makes no distinction in this world; because he has appointed a general assize, where all shall have justice done them. He suffers the dispensations of his providence to be promiscuous here, because he reserves the final distribution of rewards and punishments to that great solemnity. He treats men here with great indifference; and dispenses his mercies and judgments almost without distinction." [35]

This whole argument reveals the materialistic character of Tertullian's conceptions of the divine judgments. Like what he says of the resurrection of the body, that the body which is the "sensible part," may endure a just portion of the divine retribution, it indicates the unspiritual char-

[34] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 655. [35] Apology, sect. liv.

acter of his views upon this subject. Failing to discover any indication of those "dreadful pains" being apportioned according to character here, he concludes man must expect them hereafter. He had very little appreciation of those spiritual judgments which the guilty soul always bears within itself. He lightly esteems that terrible desolation, that stinging remorse, that perpetual unrest of the tempest-tost soul, which are a vindication of the present justice of the divine rule.

Failing properly to estimate the inflictions of a guilty conscience on the one hand, we cannot be surprised that he failed to appreciate the promptings of God's paternal love and grace on the other. Indeed, such was the natural severity of his own mind, that the hopeful views of several of the Christian fathers were unacceptable to him. While Clemens Alexandrinus, the renowned Origen, Titus, bishop of Bostra, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, and others, both among the distinguished and the undistinguished of that time, were Universalists, Tertullian was a believer in the strict eternity of punishment.

Nor did he dissent from the noblest views of his time with any apparent pain. On the contrary, he manifested an evident delight in contemplating the luminous prospect before him. "You are fond of your spectacles," said he in an apostrophe to the Pagans; "there are other spectacles: that day disbelieved, derided, by the nations, that last and eternal day of judgment, when all ages shall be swallowed up in one conflagration—what a variety of spectacles shall then appear! How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many kings, worshipped as gods in heaven, together with Jove himself, groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness! So many magistrates who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquefying in fiercer flames than they ever kindled against Christians; so many sage philosophers blushing in raging fire, with their scholars whom they persuaded to despise God, and to disbelieve the resurrection; and so many poets shuddering before the tribunal, not of Rhadamanthus, not of Minos, but of the disbelieved Christ! Then shall we hear the tragedians more tuneful under their own sufferings; then shall we see the players far more sprightly amidst the flames; the charioteer all red-hot in

his burning car; and the wrestlers hurled, not upon the accustomed list, but on a plain of fire."[36]

"Such," says the author of the Ancient History of Universalism, from whose pages we make this extract,— "such is the relish with which his fierce spirit dwells on the prospect of eternal torments. We may safely say that of all the early fathers there was none with whose natural disposition the doctrine of endless misery better accorded, than with Tertullian's."

Tertullian is reputed to have been the first Christian writer who expressly asserted that the torments of the damned will be of "equal duration with the happiness of the blest."[37] Where others had spoken indefinitely, using such phrases as "eternal punishment" and the like, Tertullian spoke definitely, using such phraseology as "endless misery;" "in that terrible day Christ shall condemn them to endless misery and torments;"[38] "who will punish us with an eternity of pain and sorrow;"[39] and consign them over to eternal punishment in another world.[40] What honor, in the coming ages, will be found to be attached to the distinction of having first assumed such a position, remains to be seen; but whatever it may be, it is believed that Tertullian may fairly claim it.

From the time of Tertullian, through a period of about two hundred years, the doctrines of Universalism and of endless misery prevailed side by side without, in the slightest degree, disturbing the harmony of the church.[41]

Tertullian did not believe, however, that the dead in general enter at once upon their final state. He supposed that an indefinite period of conscious existence in an intermediate state would elapse, in which neither the happiness of the good nor the misery of the wicked would be complete. Both the happiness and the misery in that state, he supposed to be indicative of the perfected bliss or woe which awaited them respectively in the resurrection state. At one period of his life, he seems to have believed that those destined to eternal happiness are purified in the intermediate state from all the stains of this life.[42] Martyrs, however, form an exception to the general rule.

[36] Tert. De Spectaculis, cap. 30. [37] Pref. to Anc. His. of Univ.
[38] Apology, sect. xxxiv. [39] Ib. sect. lviii. [40] Ib. sect. xxxii.
[41] Pref. to Anc. His. of Univ. [42] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 343.

hold the doctrine of the total corruption of our nature. Neander understands Tertullian to teach that the soul is Christian by nature; that there is an irrepressible, immediate, religious consciousness in common life. In the controversy between the Monotheism of Christianity and the Polytheism of Paganism, Tertullian adduces what he calls the involuntary utterances of this voice of God in man, afforded us in such ejaculations as, "Great God"—"good God"—"God is my witness"—"God will requite me"—and the like, as evidence for Christianity against Paganism;[19] thus recognizing the voice of truth in the soul beneath all corruption. We are not left, however, to uncertain inference on this point; for Tertullian distinctly says, "Men differ widely in their moral characters, yet the souls of all form but one genus. In the worst there is something good; in the best there is something bad."[20]

The whole doctrine of devils, then freshly imported from Pagan philosophy, was much more elaborated in Tertullian's time than it is in our own; and no presentation of his theology that does not embrace this doctrine can be complete. From a large class of apostate spirits fallen from heaven through pride and ambition, had sprung another race of spirits still more corrupt, called demons. Their ruling principle was supposed to be hostility to man, whom they constantly attend, annoy, and seek to injure. Socrates, with all his wisdom, it was believed, was attended by one of these demons. They blast the corn, nip the fruit in the bud, spread abroad distempers, infect the atmosphere, inflame the passions of men, excite their anger, incline them to lust and debauchery, and urge them into extremes of folly and extravagance. But they were supposed to show their wickedness most clearly by promoting idolatry, in order to secure the savory scent of their sacrifices, and the blood of their slaughtered beasts.

Tertullian affirms that these demons could traverse the whole world in a single moment of time, and thus could know what was passing at the same instant in distant parts of the universe. By this means they gained the reputation of being prophets, and even passed themselves

[19] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. pp. 177 & 178. [20] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 322.

off for gods. They watched the revolutions of ages, and inferred from them, and from the divine word, the changes which were likely to transpire in the immediate future. They foretold the weather; inflicted distempers on men and then cured them, and cheated and seduced mankind in ways innumerable.[21]

Tertullian imputes to these demons one form of deception which leads us almost to feel that he is describing certain phenomena of our own time. "Do not your magicians," says he, "perform very amazing feats? call ghosts and departed souls from the shades below; and by their infernal charms represent an infinite number of delusions? And how do they perform all this, but by the assistance of evil angels and demons, by which they are able to make stools and tables prophecy! Now if these spirits," says he, "act in such a wonderful manner to serve magicians, how much more will they exert themselves when 'tis for their own pleasure and on their own account!"[22]

Tertullian proceeds to show that the pretended wonders of the Pagan gods, also, are wrought by these demons; and claims that the Christians of his time could make them convict themselves in the very presence of their philosophers. Claiming to be gods, they could make them confess themselves devils. He challenges them to deny that they are already "damned to everlasting misery; and only wait for the universal judgment to have their tortures complete."

Created to be messengers of God, those who have not sinned still continue in their original employment. Thus one angel presides over prayer; another over baptism; and another watches over men in their dying moments. While the duties of *angels* are thus classified, each individual is supposed to have his own attending demon.[23]

Upon the doctrine of justification by faith and regeneration, no controversy had arisen in the days of Tertullian. He believed that through faith in Christ and through baptism men would be saved. But whether a heathen, who never heard of Christ, can be saved, he seems never to

[21] Apology, sects. xxxii. & xxxiii. [22] Ib. sect. xxxiv.

[23] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 219.

have inquired. Bishop Kaye thinks that if that question had occurred to him, his belief in the necessity of baptism would have compelled him to answer in the negative.[24] He doubtless sometimes maintained the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation, ascribing to it a supernatural efficacy, and denied the sufficiency of faith alone; yet at other times Neander understands him to teach that "it is faith which in baptism obtains forgiveness of sins, and that true faith wherever present is sure of salvation."[25] Tertullian had not learned to distinguish between the outward sign and the inward reality. Similar remarks will apply to his views of the Lord's Supper, a rite to which he sometimes ascribes a miraculous influence. Hence it was not unfrequently administered to infants in connexion with infant baptism.[26] The truth is, Tertullian was no more consistent than are Christians of the present day, who declare faith in this life to be essential to salvation, and yet believe in the salvation of infants, idiots, and heathen, none of whom have faith.

In the earlier part of his life, Tertullian sometimes taught that all crimes might be forgiven once after baptism; but at a later date he implies that those guilty of the most heinous offences, such as idolatry, apostacy, and murder, can never be re-admitted to the communion of the church. After he became a Montanist, and his natural severity had increased and become religiously confirmed, he was more explicit on this point. Among the venial sins which might be forgiven by the church, he enumerates being present at Pagan spectacles, working at any trade which promotes idolatry, or using any expression which might be construed into a denial of the faith. Falsehood, evil-speaking, rash swearing, and acts of violence, were also placed in the same class.

Among those whom the church could not forgive, he enumerates, with much emphasis, adulterers and fornicators; besides idolators, manslayers, and those who contract a second marriage. No penitence, however sincere, can secure to these re-admission to the church. But he distinctly admits that sincere penitence may secure their reception into the kingdom of heaven.[27]

[24] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 341. [25] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 646.

[26] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 648. [27] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 254-257.

According to Neander, "Tertullian was the first to express clearly the doctrine that Christ possessed a proper human soul, at once the animating principle of the human body, and the seat of reason, thought, and all of man's superior powers." Christ's death and sufferings, Tertullian regarded as the foundation of man's salvation. But in what way they contribute to this end, his language is not sufficiently explicit to determine. No mention had yet been made, according to Neander, of satisfaction rendered by the sufferings of Christ to the divine justice. A very different doctrine prevailed in Tertullian's time, and was distinctly stated both by Irenæus and Origen. It is, that Christ's death has a necessary connexion with the deliverance of man from the power of Satan; inasmuch as it was to Satan, and not to God, that the ransom was paid.[28]

Notwithstanding Tertullian ascribed to Christ a proper human soul, he still believed him to have proceeded from the Father and to be of one essence with the Father; as a ray of light proceeds from the sun, and is of one essence with it. He believed Christ, however, a distinct person, and subordinate to the Father. The Holy Ghost, in like manner, he held to be of the same essence as both Father and Son, but a proper person distinct from both. Thus he held to a real trinity; but admitted the subordination of Christ, which would have been heresy in a later age.[29] It is worthy of remark, in this connexion, that however unlike Tertullian's view of the trinity may be to that which is at present deemed evangelical, he was the first Christian writer, according to Semler, who used the words trinity and person, in speaking of the Godhead.[30]

Respecting the great doctrine of the resurrection, Tertullian holds the following language: "The same body and soul must be again united. Indeed, it is nothing but what is absolutely necessary to the great end of the universal judgment; namely, that the same man who lived a good or a bad life here upon our earth, may rise to receive the rewards or punishments due to his good or his evil action. And the body must necessarily rise; for the torments can not be complete, unless the flesh, which is

[28] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. pp. 642 & 643. [29] Ib. vol. i. p. 605.

[30] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 549.

the sensible part, has its share in the sufferings. Indeed, it is but just that, as they sinned together, so they should share alike in those dreadful pains which God shall inflict upon impenitent sinners."[31]

It is seen from this extract, that Tertullian believed that the punishment of the wicked will consist of physical bodily suffering. He calls them "dreadful pains." In another place he speaks of them as "eternal flames," reserved by God in the bowels of the earth, to punish hardened sinners.[32]

Tertullian presses the philosophers with the consideration that the doctrine of the resurrection should not be considered unreasonable, especially by them. "But come," says he, "let a philosopher prepare a set speech; and with great confidence, and a florid delivery, harangue upon the doctrine of the metempsychosis; tell you, with an air of gravity, that this *man* was once a horse, this snake a woman; would not you believe him? I am sure you would; I know what footing this absurd doctrine has gained in the world. Many of you scruple to *eat* an ox or a sheep, for fear of dining upon one of your deceased relations. And yet, when *we* preach the resurrection,—that these bodies, though reduced to ashes, and mouldered into dust, shall rise again, and be united with the soul into the same man,—what scoffs and jeers! Stocks and stones are powerful arguments with which you confute this displeasing doctrine. If it is reasonable to believe that the souls of men transmigrate from one body to another, why is it not at least as reasonable that they should return again into the same bodies which are properly to be restored; that is, to be what they were before."[33]

Tertullian does not appear to have felt the weight of those objections to such gross notions of the resurrection of the body, as have been urged in modern times, and drawn from that continual change in the matter of the body, which the processes of life occasion. And with the narrow and limited conceptions of the earthly body possessed by him, he would hardly have been able to solve those objections, had they occurred to him.

Origen, on the other hand, according to Neander, "distinguished from the mutable phenomenal form, the

[31] Apology, sect. lxii. [32] Ib. lxi. [33] Ib. lxii.

proper essence lying at the foundation of the body, which remains the same through all the changes of the earthly life, and which, moreover, is not destroyed at death. This proper essence lying at the foundation of the body would, by the operation of the divine power, be awakened to a nobler form, corresponding to the ennobled character of the soul; so that, as the soul had communicated its own peculiar stamp to the earthly body, it would then communicate the same to the transfigured body. In proof of this he alleges, that the identity of the body in *this* life consists not in its momently changing phenomenal form, which had been fitly compared to a flowing stream, but in the peculiar stamp which the soul impresses on the body, whereby it becomes the proper form of manifestation of this or that particular personality." [34]

There is an acuteness in this philosophy which undoubtedly perceives the objections already alluded to; and if the existence of such a proper unchanging essence at the foundation of the body, and belonging specifically to the body rather than the soul, be granted, it seems adequate to their solution. But the existence of such an essence can hardly be granted. And Origen himself seems to admit that the identity of the body is not properly inherent in the body itself, but is preserved by its connexion with the soul.

From what has already been observed, it will be seen that Tertullian looks to the future world as the theatre of adequate rewards and punishments. "God," he says, "makes no distinction in this world; because he has appointed a general assize, where all shall have justice done them. He suffers the dispensations of his providence to be promiscuous here, because he reserves the final distribution of rewards and punishments to that great solemnity. He treats men here with great indifference; and dispenses his mercies and judgments almost without distinction." [35]

This whole argument reveals the materialistic character of Tertullian's conceptions of the divine judgments. Like what he says of the resurrection of the body, that the body which is the "sensible part," may endure a just portion of the divine retribution, it indicates the unspiritual char-

[34] Neander's Ch. His. vol. i. p. 655. [35] Apology, sect. liv.

acter of his views upon this subject. Failing to discover any indication of those "dreadful pains" being apportioned according to character here, he concludes man must expect them hereafter. He had very little appreciation of those spiritual judgments which the guilty soul always bears within itself. He lightly esteems that terrible desolation, that stinging remorse, that perpetual unrest of the tempest-tost soul, which are a vindication of the present justice of the divine rule.

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[38] Apology, sect. xxxiv. [39] Ib. sect. lviii. [40] Ib. sect. xxxii.
[41] Pref. to Anc. His. of Univ. [42] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 343.

Tertullian taught that they receive immediate admission to the perfected bliss of heaven.[43] All the other dead, he supposed, are detained in a deep and vast recess in the very heart and bowels of the earth. He sometimes divides this recess into two portions; the wicked dwelling in the lower, and the righteous in the higher, which he calls Abraham's bosom. This last abode is still below the earth, and is one of only partial good.

The doctrine of "no change after death" is a comparatively modern one, and was wholly unknown in the time of Tertullian.

There are many topics connected with Christian doctrine, not then in controversy, upon which Tertullian has expressed no opinion. Thus we find no trace of the doctrine of predestination; no distinct information on that of original sin; and only incidental light on various other doctrines.

Many practices, on the other hand, now looked upon as indifferent, were by him severely reprehended. He taught that Christians should not serve as civil magistrates; should not bear arms; should engage in no art or trade connected with idolatry; and, above all, should not hold the office of executioner. Had he lived in our time, when professing Christians *volunteer* to hang *even negroes*, he would have found no words burning enough to express his indignation. With all his moroseness, he was in this regard far above the level of our time.

He was loyal, and urged loyalty upon Christians in general, whenever that virtue was possible without the sacrifice of Christian principle. But whenever obedience to the government demanded *that* sacrifice, he stood forth in noble contrast with the practical atheism of our time, and urged patient endurance of contumely, of suffering, and of death itself, rather than to entertain a thought of apostacy from God. He believed that the world would end when the Roman empire should be overthrown. Hence he found motive for the double work of urging the Christians to pray for the prosperity of the government, and of persuading the rulers to confide in the Christians.

We must here bring our recital to a close, notwith-

[43] Kaye's Ec. His. p. 142.

standing much remains to be said. If we have presented Tertullian in the character exclusively of a theologian, our apology must be found in the fact that it is in that character alone he is known to our time. On the whole, we find him to have been a man of extreme positions and tendencies, especially in the line of severity. It was this element of his character, more than any other, which led to his separation from the regular church, and his union with the Montanists. Although this sect was heretical, its theology, in some of its features, approached more nearly to what has been orthodoxy in later ages, than did that of the regular church. This orthodoxy, which was so largely moulded by Augustine, which was modified in several particulars by Calvin, and which some of the strongest minds of our own time labor in vain to commend to the reason of our age, received its first cast in the hands of the extravagant, the severe, though in many respects profound, Tertullian. As an example of a great mind struggling with great difficulties, he is worthy of the attention of all; but as a teacher of systematic theology, either in its letter or its spirit, he should be studied with the greatest caution. A. A. M.

Art. XIII.

What is Will?

There are two distinct definitions of this word, from which have arisen very different doctrines, and concerning which there has been no little controversy. According to the first definition, will is the purpose or determination of the soul, formed after motives have been presented and considered, and is subsequent to choice, but precedes action. According to the second, will is an independent, self-determining faculty of the soul, able not only to choose without motives, but to act in opposition to the strongest which may be presented. All other definitions will be

found to be modifications of these. Buck, in his Theological Dictionary, says, "Will is the faculty of the soul by which it chooses or refuses any thing offered to it." Others have defined it in a similar manner. It has been called "the faculty which chooses good or evil." By others it has been called the executive faculty of the soul, and made responsible for all volitions and actions. All these correspond with the second definition. They represent will as anterior to choice,—as the power which forms the choice. In discussing any question, much depends upon having definite ideas of the terms used. The terms soul and faculty, in the second definition, are often used in a very loose or indefinite manner. Soul is often made synonymous with mind, reason, judgment, understanding, and will. Locke, with all his care about words, has failed of his ordinary precision in the use of this term. A little care in this respect would prevent frequent misapprehension of the meaning of writers, and often much unprofitable controversy. By the term soul, all Christians mean that indestructible principle, which comes from God, and may exist in the body or out of it. Hence we speak of it as leaving the body at death. It leaves its tenement, the body, and returns to God. Paul speaks of it as leaving the natural body, to dwell in the spiritual. This is the common, and, I think, the scriptural use of it. Having settled upon this meaning, we may proceed to learn more about it by defining its faculties.

We say the soul is the principle or power which feels, perceives, reasons, chooses, wills, or determines, and acts by, or through, its various faculties. It is the living principle, the "conscious energy," the man. We hold it responsible for all conscious or voluntary acts of the body, because the body can not act without it. Thus we understand the soul to be the principal, the body the mere instrument. And while we regard the body and its faculties as the medium through which the soul holds communion with others, yet they are not essential to its existence. It may exist in the body and apparently have no means of communication. We suppose infants to possess souls, but they lack the necessary development of the physical organs to be able to communicate with us. We always regard idiots as having souls; otherwise we should feel

at liberty to dispose of them as we dispose of other soulless creatures. Men, who have been distinguished for their mental and moral powers, by sickness or extreme age often lose their faculties and become nearly idiotic; but we do not suppose them to be destitute of souls. By these and similar cases, we learn that the soul is not the mind. Mind is only the working, or action, of the soul, by its several faculties. It is not the understanding, or judgment, for it may exist without them. It is not the will, for it must exist before the will, as will is the soul's creation or work. The cause must be independent of the effect.

We conclude, therefore, that the soul is the living, determining, and acting principle of man, which has its origin in God and is subject to his will. But the soul feels, perceives, reasons, chooses, determines, and acts by its faculties. Through these alone are we able to recognize its existence, or to understand its nature. But what do we mean by the *faculties* of the soul? By a faculty we mean an original power or susceptibility, which acts, or is acted upon, by its appropriate organ. A faculty is innate. It may be improved, but can not be acquired. The sphere in which the soul's faculties move is external and internal. Through external organs, some of the faculties may be brought in contact with outward objects and circumstances, while others are limited to actions arising among themselves. Thus one faculty perceives that which is external, another compares and classifies impressions which are internal.

But to make an application of these facts to the subject of will,—let us see what faculties of the soul are connected with, or antecedent to, our choice and determination. The first faculty of soul which is manifested in our nature is that power or susceptibility which is impressed by outward objects and circumstances, or by the acts of the other faculties within. It is called sensation or sensitiveness—and assumes the form of feeling, desires, passions, &c. Its whole duty is to receive impressions. Another faculty of the soul is called perception. Its duty is to recognize the impressions made upon the first faculty. It is nearly the same as attention. If this faculty is weak, many impressions will pass unperceived. The next fac-

ulty of the soul is reason or reflection. This takes up the impressions reported by perception, and compares, classifies, and traces them to their causes. Here is the source of judgment or understanding, which has sometimes been mistaken for a faculty of the soul. It is the result of the action of the first three faculties, and will depend entirely upon them. If the soul receives strong impressions, has a clear perception of them, and a reasoning faculty to compare, classify, and trace cause and effect, it has in these the elements of sound judgment and good understanding. All that is then needed is experience. That both perception and reason are indispensable antecedents of the understanding, is evident from the fact that we often meet men who have good perception of things, but, lacking the reasoning or reflective faculty, are destitute of good understanding; and again, other men, who will reason well from established premises, but lacking the perceptive power are unable to make use of their reasoning,—they have not judgment. We conclude, therefore, that judgment or understanding is not an original faculty of the soul. Another faculty is memory. This is nearly related to knowledge. It is the power which calls up past impressions and conditions of the soul, making them to appear as present. We speak of knowing what we now perceive, or what we remember. This has a great influence in shaping our designs and determinations. Another faculty of the soul is the moral power, which is nearly synonymous with conscience, prompting us to do right, and reproving us when we fail to act according to its decision.

These are the faculties of the soul, immediately connected with our choice and determination. Indeed, we can not choose, in a single instance, until one or all of these have been consulted. I have been thus particular in defining these faculties, that we may ascertain whether there is such a faculty as will, having any thing to do with the choice, or whether will may be ranked among the faculties of the soul. There are two methods by which we can decide. One is to trace the development of the faculties as seen in the infant; the other, to examine our own faculties in their action previous to choosing or refusing any thing offered.

Let us first examine the manner in which the faculties are developed in the infant. The first faculty developed is sensation. We need not stop to examine the functions of animal life common to all animals, but simply those peculiar to our race, as connected with the intellect. The first impressions are made through the senses of feeling, seeing, hearing, &c. These impressions are repeated for days, weeks, and even months in some instances, before we witness any clear manifestations of intellect, separate from what we commonly denominate instinct. Time passes before distinct impressions are made; a still longer time, before the perception is clear, and the soul begins to reason. But let us take a particular case. Often the first clear indication of intellect is the recognition of the mother's face. Many impressions have been received through the eye; and now it recognizes its mother, and springs to her embrace. Here is choice. Let us trace the steps. First came impressions from many faces. Perception recognizes these; reason begins to compare them, and at length traces certain ones to one particular face; and with the recognition of that face come the memories of enjoyment and caresses, which lead the little one to choose the mother's embrace in preference to any other. Is there any will anterior to this choice? Let us now examine the other process. Consciousness is as good evidence here as in any other case. We will examine the process by which the soul chooses, and see if will precedes the choice. The soul, acting in the possession of all its powers, is to choose to do, or not to do, some important act. Let us see what faculties are consulted. First comes sensation, which has taken the form of feeling or desire. What says this faculty about the act? That it would be agreeable. Intellect, embracing perception and reason, says there are no obstacles in the way,—the act would be reasonable. Memory says it has often been done, and has always been attended by happy results. Conscience says it ought to be done.—The soul at once chooses, and immediately wills or determines to do it. Are not these the faculties which precede choice? And will not the choice or determination be according to their verdict? Let desire be strong, the decision of the intellect clear, memory favorable, and conscience commanding us to act,

shall we need the influence of some supposed power called will to decide the choice? Without any such faculty the soul chooses and determines to act; that determination is will,—the human will, and it is as free as any thing human can be.

Thus, by tracing the development of the soul's faculties in the infant until it chooses, determines, and acts,—by appealing to our own consciousness of the process by which we are led to choose, determine, and act, and, finding no such faculty as will, but finding the choice and determination influenced or formed by other motives, we conclude that will is not an original faculty of the soul. We believe, therefore, that the common definition representing it as the faculty of the soul which chooses or refuses—representing it as a power acting anterior to choice, is not in accordance with philosophy, experience, or fact, and should be at once discarded.

But it may be asked, Whence came this generally received definition? To answer this will carry us far back in the history of our race. Some of the heathen philosophers taught the existence of two Gods, one the source of good, the other of evil. This accounted for the existence of evil in the world. Christianity dispensed with the God of evil, recognizing but one God, who was the source of all things. The Bible teaches that Adam sinned, and that all his posterity have also sinned. During the first four centuries of the Christian era, sin and its consequences were matters of controversy, but all were allowed to believe as they understood the Bible. While many believed that sin and its consequences would never end, others believed, with Origen, that all evil would eventually cease. A reliable historian informs us that early in the fifth century, Augustine by his influence introduced new doctrines. "He maintained what was new in the church, that Adam's transgression had so thoroughly corrupted all his posterity, that by nature they could do only evil; that nothing but the irresistible spirit of the Almighty could incline their wills to good; that it depended entirely upon the arbitrary pleasure of God whether they should be converted or not, —God having foreordained whom to save, and predetermined to pass by the remainder of the race without any regard to what they should perform." Now it appears to

me that here commenced the difficulty which originated and still sustains the popular definition of will. God had foreordained that Adam should sin, and in consequence all his posterity should be brought into existence totally depraved, unable to do a good deed or think a good thought; and, although brought into existence without any choice of their own, the penalty was endless woe. This doctrine was so utterly opposed to God's attribute of mercy,—so derogatory to his character, that many began to shrink from it. To soften down such an absurdity, the doctrine of free-will was presented. According to this, God wished man to remain holy, but gave him a will by which he could choose to sin or refrain from it. Man chose to sin. This changed the responsibility from God to man. God was no longer the cause of evil. Thus the will of man was made a substitute for the heathen's God of evil, it being made responsible for the existence of sin in the world. Some have tried to lay the blame upon the devil; but finding it difficult to trace his origin, man's will was considered the best substitute for the evil God, and was generally adopted. When Calvin revived Augustine's creed, the same objections were again raised. Men would not believe that God created a part of his own children on purpose to make them miserable; and although Calvin told them that God had a right to do as he pleased with his own,—that the wailings of the lost would redound to the glory of God, still they were not satisfied; and when Arminius brought forth the doctrine of free-will, it was received as an amendment to Calvin's creed.[1] It answered its original purpose. It seemed to remove the absurdity of representing God as the author of such acts of cruelty and injustice as the creed taught.

[1] *Note by the Editor.*—There seems to be some inaccuracy in this historical view, or at least in the manner of stating it. It is well known that the doctrine of Free-Will, as distinguished from Necessity, was the common doctrine of the Church from the apostolic age to that of Augustine, and onward. Even Augustine held that the human Will was free before the "Fall,"—when it became enslaved to sin through the total corruption of man, though it still continued to be free in every thing but its *moral* acts. We recollect no case in dogmatic history, in which it can be said that the doctrines of Total Depravity and Eternal Reprobation gave either *rise*, or *occasion*, to the doctrine of Free-Will. The latter was always in the field before the former.

It has since been generally adopted, and now forms an important item in the New-School theology. It appears, however, that there have always been some who could not adopt it. There have always been men who saw that if election and reprobation impeach the *goodness* of God, the doctrine of free-will, as commonly explained, reflects still more severely upon his *wisdom* and his *honor*. To reconcile the absurdities of both creeds with truth, has indeed been a conflict of ages. I can readily conceive how believers in the old creeds, which recognize the eternity of evil as a foul blot upon the Creator's plan, should be willing to adopt almost any doctrine which would even seem to attribute the origin of such an evil to any other than the Great First Cause. But why Universalists,—who have discarded such old absurdities, who look upon all evil as a means to an end, who believe that it will terminate in good,—should have any sympathy with the doctrine of a free self-determining will, is more than I can understand. If Jehovah can say, "I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all these things,"—if without the least hesitancy we attribute all physical evil to him; if we say God can and will overcome all moral evil, that it shall result in good; why should we hesitate to believe that it constitutes a part of his plan, and is now doing its appointed work? Does not Paul's argument favor this, when he says, "Moreover the law entered that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound?" And, in accordance with our view of the termination of evil, may we not exclaim, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." And, in regard to the subject of will, may we not adopt the language of the poet, when, reflecting upon the overruling hand of God, he exclaims:

"In all our ways we humbly own
Thy providential power;
Entrusting to thy care alone
The lot of every hour."

J. W. T.

Art. XIV.

Literary Notices.

1. The Elements of Intellectual Philosophy. By Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company. &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 426.

The distinguishing excellences of this work, in respect to its arrangement and the style of its execution, may be expressed in two words: clearness and ease. And these two qualities it appears to us to possess in an eminent degree. Perhaps they were gradually brought to the perfection in which we here find them, partly in consequence of the manner in which the work originated and grew up. It is in substance the course of Lectures which the author has annually delivered to the classes in Intellectual Philosophy in Brown University. The need of thorough perspicuity, as one of the very first requisites in Lectures which are to be mastered by young men, on an abstruse science, and mastered primarily in the act of hearing, could hardly fail to make itself felt throughout the process of preparing them. And then each repetition of them, year after year, must have suggested such improvements as they were found to need in form, or expression, or thought. We have the results of such a preparation in this volume. Notwithstanding the abstruseness of its subject, it is very easy reading. Short, homely sentences, right to the point, and at the same time a continuous natural flow of thought, characterize its manner. Illustrations, always of the familiar kind, are frequently introduced, either to make the mental processes more distinctly understood, or to bring out the affinities between one such process and another. Practical directions are also given for cultivating the several intellectual powers in the most judicious way.

As the work was designed chiefly for a text-book to be used in the regular course of collegiate instruction, it aims only to lay out the general field of the science, and very properly abstains from an exhaustive discussion of particular points. On these, however, the student is referred to places in other standard works where they are more fully treated. Though neither new discoveries nor profound investigations will be looked for in an elementary treatise of this kind, it has throughout the air of originality in one sense: evidently, the author had made the matter his own, and wrote from his own perceptions of mental facts,—which is all that we can demand in such a case as the present. He has also availed himself of "the latest improvements" in the science, especially of Sir William Ham-

ilton's valuable contributions. In the main he agrees with the great Scotch metaphysician, though he partially dissents from him on one or two points.

In a judicious apportioning of the instruction to the several topics respectively, in the ease with which the whole may be comprehended, in the clear good sense everywhere evinced, and in neatness of treatment, we think the work excels all other text-books that we have seen on Intellectual Philosophy. Were we to enter into a rigorous criticism of each section, we might query whether there is not a defect in the argument on p. 100, paragraph 4, for the validity of the testimony which Consciousness gives of *external* objects. In our abnormal states, as much as in our normal state, we have a consciousness that we perceive external objects truly. But in those conditions, our consciousness is often delusive in this respect, while it is still true as respects its testimony to the *internal* fact. Will it do, then, to rest the argument wholly on the validity of consciousness, or rather upon the ground that its external cognitions must be as infallible as its internal cognitions? It is true, that its infallibility in the former respect is afterwards predicated exclusively of its *normal* condition. But this only shows that we can not reason with certainty from the truth simply of its internal cognitions to the truth of its external cognitions. We do not say that the general principle is not the true one; we only say that the statement of it needs to be cleared of an inconsequence. If we do not misremember, however, the same defect is also found in Sir William Hamilton's demonstration. Setting this one defect aside, we see little to be amended in the present work. Its positive excellences are so great as to make a solitary oversight, if oversight it be, the more noticeable.

2. Institutes of Metaphysic: the Theory of Knowing and Being. By James F. Ferrier, A. B. Oxon., Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, St. Andrews. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1854. Small 8vo. pp. 530.

A copy, received through the politeness of the author, has greatly interested us. We find it to be a remarkable work, on several accounts. In one of its essential elements, it is original; and, as this essential element affects the treatment of the whole matter, we may say in general terms that the metaphysical problem of Knowing and of Being is here wrought out in a new way. The author explicitly avows the novelty of his positions, and demands for them, on this ground, the most searching criticism. The attitude which he takes is of the very boldest if not daring kind. He pronounces all the current systems of metaphysics to be abortions, and claims for his own that it is the only one worthy of the name. It surprises us to find that he seems very well to sustain this defiant challenge.

The present condition of the science he describes as follows: "It

is a matter of general complaint that, although we have plenty of disputations and dissertations on philosophy, we have no philosophy itself. This is perfectly true. People write about it, and about it; but no one has grasped with an unflinching hand the very thing itself. The whole philosophical literature of the world is more like an unwieldy commentary on some text which has perished, or rather has never existed, than like what a philosophy itself should be. Our philosophical treatises are no more philosophy than Eustathius is Homer, or than Malone is Shakespeare. They are mere partial and desultory annotations on some text, on which unfortunately no man can lay his hands, because it nowhere exists. Hence the embroilment of speculation; hence the dissatisfaction, even despair, of every inquiring mind which turns its attention to metaphysics. There is not now in existence even the shadow of a tribunal to which any point in litigation can be referred. There is not now in existence a single book which lays down with precision and impartiality the Institutes of all metaphysical opinion, and shows the seeds of all speculative controversies. Hence philosophy is not only a war, but it is a war in which none of the combatants understands the grounds either of his own opinion or of that of his adversary; or sees the roots of the side of the question which he is either attacking or defending. The springs by which these disputatious puppets are worked, lie deep out of their own sight. Every doctrine which is either embraced or rejected, is embraced or rejected blindly, and without any insight into its merits," &c. pp. 5, 6.

On the other hand, he claims to have given a theory that is established by an unbroken chain of demonstration from its first word to its last. "The general character," says he, "of this system is, that it is a body of *necessary* truth. It starts from a single proposition which, it is conceived, is an essential axiom of all reason, and one which cannot be denied without running against a contradiction. The axiom may not be self-evident in an instant; but that, as has been remarked, is no criterion. A moderate degree of reflection, coupled with the observations by which the proposition is enforced, may satisfy any one that its nature is such as has been stated. From this single proposition the whole system is deduced in a series of demonstrations, each of which proposes to be as strict as any demonstration in Euclid, while the whole of them taken together constitute one great demonstration. If this rigorous necessity is not their character to the very letter,—if there is a single weak point in the system,—if there be any one premise or any one conclusion which is not as certain as that two and two make four, the whole scheme falls to pieces, and must be given up, root and branch. Every thing is perilled on the pretension that the scheme is rigidly demonstrated throughout; for a philosophy is not entitled to exist, unless it can make good this claim." pp. 27, 28.

It would be great presumption in us to pronounce, at this early period, a definitive judgment on the merits of the system. A chain of propositions, with their scientific definitions and scientific demonstrations, running through some five hundred pages, and so dependent on each other that the least flaw in any one link would spoil the whole, is not to be disposed of on a single examination, unless an obvious error shall unquestionably have been found. We have discovered no such error. So far as a first reading of the book has enabled us to perceive, the plan to which the author pledges himself is executed to the very letter. Each proposition seems to be cleared of all possible ambiguity, and then to be demonstrated as strictly as any in Euclid, while all of them taken together seem to constitute one entire demonstration. At the same time, the points from which erroneous divergences have started seem to be ascertained, and the grounds of each of these mistakes laid bare.

We had begun to make an abstract of the system; but a failure, which we might have anticipated at the outset, has induced us to abandon the attempt. The book itself contains little more than what was deemed necessary to the working out of the problem; and how can we compress such a process into the narrow space of a literary notice? Let it suffice to state that the author claims to have demonstrated the reality of our knowledge even of the Absolute and of the Infinite.

Such as are at all used to metaphysical reading may be assured that there is no occasion for their being deterred from a perusal of the work by fear of difficulty in understanding it. They will find it not only intelligible, but incapable of being misapprehended, with a little care. Nor will they need to grope their way; they may go through it at nearly their natural reading gait. To many the subject itself can not fail of being dry; but it is enlivened by earnest argumentation, and frequently by sharp polemical contest. The style is very clear and spirited, though not so suggestive, not so rich in allusions, as that of Sir William Hamilton. Perhaps we might complain that it sometimes runs a little too near the declamatory, and that here and there a figure is followed too far. This, however, is but a matter of taste.

3. The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity. By Frederick Denison Maurice, M. A. From the Third Revised London Edition. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1854.

The author of the work above-named has become one of the most popular theological writers of the present time. With a mind of singular clearness and strength, he brings to his work also an earnest and devoted spirit, and an independence, too, which, if it do not commend him to the bigot or sectarian, will make him welcome to the candid inquirer after truth. He has spoken some very unwel-

come, because some very just things, of the hitherto popular theology in the church; and may be justly ranked among the true friends of liberal Christianity at the present time.

In this volume we find the substance of a course of lectures delivered in one of the London churches on the first Mondays of certain months in the years 1845 and 1846, according to the provisions of a will made by Robert Boyle in 1691, "that eight sermons should be preached each year in London for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels, to wit: Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans; not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves." The first four lectures are devoted to a very clear and able notice of the principal religions of the world,—Mohammedanism, the Hindoo faith, the Brahmin, Buddhism, the old Persian faith, the Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Gothic,—the last four to the relation of the religions of the world with the Christian. The first of this last series is an attempt to show how Christianity can satisfy the cravings of Mohammedans; the second how it can satisfy the Hindoo; the third how Buddhism may be approached by it; the last lecture treats of the preaching of the gospel to the Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, and Goths, the form of this preaching, resistance of it from the doctrine of an evil principle, Mohammedan protest against it, Hindoo protest, modern infidel protest,—and how Christianity is established by all, as the great want of the race.

The views entertained by the author of the great principles of Christianity, are such as we believe worthier of being presented to the votary of Paganism, than others more contradictory and unwelcome, which have from time to time been offered him by professed Christian teachers. It seems to be a settled conviction of this writer, that unless we can give the Pagan a Christianity that will more than fill the place of his own religion,—that will be adequate to all his moral wants,—we shall not enter upon a hopeful mission with him. And from what we have read, it seems to us that the author of this work has in mind a faith such as would furnish this supply. In one place he gives us as comprehensive a statement of Christianity as we have ever met with from any source. He speaks of Jesus as the prophesied king in the Scriptures whom the Jewish people should see. "For such a one, these prophets say, David and his line were the preparation,—He would readily establish a universal kingdom. Now Christians affirm that the ground of universal society is the revelation of this king. This Son of God, they say, has been manifested; He in whom this perfect image dwelt; He has exhibited that image in the life and acts of a man, in the poverty and death of a man; He, as a man, has exercised dominion over the powers of nature; as a man, wrestled with spiritual evil; as a man, triumphed over death; as a man, ascended to the right hand of God;

He having so united man to God, has sent down his spirit to dwell among men, that they might be one family, and glorify the Father of all in Him. The universal kingdom, say they, must be a fatherly kingdom; the Lord of it must be a suffering man who is yet the Son of God. That which makes it one, and enables men to acknowledge God as one, must be a uniting, reconciling Spirit, who raises them above the broken forms and shadows of earth,—above those material things, in which there is nothing but division, into the true unity, the perfect, absolute love."

In the conclusion of the book, the author has some excellent remarks in vindication of foreign missions,—the finding out of what *man* wants,—man, not *only* in cotton-spinning Manchester, and in Birmingham, but man in Persia and Thibet, and everywhere. The book deserves a full review; but as this is a brief notice only, we conclude by earnestly recommending it to our readers. It is full of thought, and will bear close studying. J. G. A.

4. Practical Christian Socialism: a Conversational Exposition of the true System of Human Society; in Three Parts, viz: i. Fundamental Principles. ii. Constitutional Polity. iii. Superiority to other Systems. By Adin Ballou. &c. &c. Hopedale: Published by the Author. &c. 1854. 8vo. pp. 655.

A full exposition of the principles and theory on which the Author has founded the Community of Hopedale, in Milford, Mass., together with a statement of the organization which he proposes as a substitute for the present form of human society. Mr. Ballou's Community-system is broadly distinguished, in two very important respects, from other recent systems of the kind with which we are acquainted. 1. It is instituted throughout on religious principles, with a Creed, or profession of Christian faith; and 2. It is pervaded by a strict morality,—stricter indeed, or at least more severe, than the ethical rules that are commonly recognized by the Christian world abroad. "Total Abstinence," "Non-resistance," simplicity in dress and manners, moderation in the expense of living, and separation from all the present forms of civil government, are among the requisites prescribed. Especially is it distinguished from the vicious looseness of other Community-systems, by its restraints on illicit sexual love, and by the sacredness with which it regards the marriage-connexion. On these two essential elements, religious faith, and strict moral regulations of an authoritative kind, the Author speaks with uncompromising decision, and exposes the mischiefs arising from the neglect of them in Fourierism and other Socialistic schemes.

His theory of Christianity seems to us to be marked with veins of Neoplatonic speculation, and to be a good deal affected by the ambition, rather epidemic among us, of reducing the Universe to such a

formula as our petty systemizing faculty may devise. According to him, God, the infinite and unapproachable, can not be directly known to the finite understanding. He becomes known to us only through what the Author calls "the Christ-spirit." This Christ-spirit is, if we understand him, the spirit of God somehow *personalized* into a finite organism, without any change of its moral properties. It pervades the world, ready to be employed anywhere as a vehicle of communication from the Creator to his creatures. Jesus was the person in whom this Christ-Spirit appeared in full measure, thus revealing to men the otherwise unknown and unknowable Father. He revealed God as a Being of infinite love and holiness, good unto all, good even in his judgments, which he inflicts with a view to the good of the sufferers. Jesus alone had complete divine authority; he alone was fully inspired. Others were, and many still are, partially inspired, in various degrees, by the Christ-spirit, but not beyond the liability to error. Even the prophets and apostles were, in some respects, fallible. The atonement which Jesus made was not a reconciliation of God to man, but the reverse. There are various orders of spirits, as those of angels, men, &c.; but all are only personalizations from out of one general mass of created spirit, called "Soul-spirit," which has its rank next below the Christ-spirit. Man, as born into this world, needs to be regenerated, by having the latent spiritual life within him vivified and brought into action. He is, by birth, neither wholly corrupt, nor wholly pure; and, by his Will, acting freely within certain limits, he can obey the requisitions of his Creator, or disobey them. He is under an economy of strict retribution, which follows him into the next life, recompensing him there according to his character, as well as here. At death, or shortly afterwards, he passes into the immortal state by a resurrection in a spiritual body. There is, however, to be another and simultaneous resurrection of all, in some period of the future, when all shall have been brought into moral subjection. Universal salvation and blessedness will be the result of Christ's mediation. Finally, the Author thinks that all souls will be eventually absorbed in God, and, if we understand him, lose their personality, either partly or wholly, in the great Fountain of Being from whom they at first proceeded.

It is not our business, at present, to analyze this mixture, and to separate what is speculation from what is Scripture doctrine. We therefore pass over the hypotheses of a "Christ-spirit," and of a "Soul-spirit," &c.; but we can not refrain from reminding our Author that his theory of absorption, if indeed it extend to the absorption of our personality, is nothing less nor more than what used to be called by the ungracious name of annihilation. For no one ever meant, by *annihilation*, any thing else than the resolving of the elements of our being back into their sources, with the loss of our personality and of our personal consciousness. It makes no odds to us,

whether we are said to be *blest* into annihilation, or *cursed* into annihilation; the thing is the same, whichsoever of the verbs we place before it.

We find no fault in the *moral* code which he proposes, unless it be that he carries the doctrine of Non-resistance too far. We see not clearly, indeed, just how far he does carry it,—whether he allows the infliction of any corporeal wound in self-defence, or the maiming of an assassin to save our own life. It is plain, however, that he regards it as unlawful, in every possible case, to inflict death, even for the sake of protecting ourselves, or the public, from destruction. If this be an extreme, as we think it is, there still is so little danger of its being generally acted on, that it is not worth the while to combat the theory. We can not deny that something may be said in its favor from the *literal* form of certain precepts in the New Testament, and yet more from the examples of Christ and the apostles, when viewed apart from the peculiar circumstances in which they stood. But we have never been able to see that simple self-defence conflicts, as does the spirit of retaliation and cruelty, with any of the great principles of the gospel. Whether or not we should use it, seems to us to be, in most cases, a question of expediency, rather than of absolute principle.

A characteristic feature of Mr. Ballou's Community-system, is, the isolation of all its members from the fashions, tastes, and pursuits of the world around, while they still mingle with the world. They must all accept the religious faith, the new set of political and social maxims, and the code of moral regulations, that are here prescribed, and the whole process of their lives must be modified accordingly. If we may judge from the phraseology used in this book, they will be likely to form for themselves, to some extent, even a new dialect.

The plan on which his Community is constructed, may be described in general terms as embracing two classes of members,—an outer circle, and an inner circle. Those without may live in neighborhoods occupied chiefly by the unreformed world, and may own their property as individuals, but are expected to associate with each other, under the advice of more perfect Communitists, for mutual improvement in the new science, and for enjoyment of the new social peculiarities. But the other class, the thoroughly conformed, reside together, though in separate families if they choose, on a territory owned exclusively by the Community, and hold their property as joint-stock or common-stock. Here, we suppose, the industrial and economical arrangements are not essentially different from those of Fourierite and other Socialistic Communities.

With us, the central objection to this scheme appears to lie against its fundamental element, Socialism. Of this characteristic, we have expressed our views at some length in a former volume of the Quarterly; it is therefore needful, here, only to add a consideration or

two. It seems evident to us that such an arrangement as this can never call forth the energies of the human character to the degree in which they are brought out in the natural form of society. A Community is, in this respect, a sort of plantation cultivated by servants under gentle overseers, where the cares, competitions, hardships, and hazards of life are borne, not *by*, but *for*, the individual workers, and by superintending agencies. It keeps the individuals themselves in perpetual non-age. To institute a system for the purpose of relieving mankind from the personal responsibilities of managing their own concerns, will be found, in the long run, to do them no favor, whether the system be designed for this world, or for any other world. It is an attempt to set aside the method which the Creator has provided for disciplining, developing, and educating the human race. Here is the mother-error that gives birth to all Socialistic theories, and even to some religious theories. We ought indeed to seek for every help that will aid men in working out the problem of their existence; but still we must let *them work* it out, and we must let them do it under their own responsibilities, or we shall spoil them.

5. A History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest. With Supplementary Chapters on the History of Literature and Art. By William Smith, LL. D., Author of the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Antiquities," "Biography and Mythology," and "Geography." With Notes, and a Continuation to the Present Time, by C. C. Felton, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brown. &c. &c. 1855. 8vo. pp. 670.

Of Dr. Smith's work, a notice was given in a former volume of the Quarterly. The opinion which was there expressed of its great merits, is confirmed by the voice of all whose judgment of its character we have learned. Unquestionably, it is without rival *the* history of Greece for classes in academies and colleges, and also for such readers in general as have not time or inclination to master the numerous volumes of Grote. The present edition, by Prof. Felton, is thoroughly and very neatly executed. His Continuation of the history appears to us, from the brief opportunity which we have had for examining it, to be a worthy complement of the original work. Indeed, his reputation as a scholar, and as a writer of sound and cultivated taste, renders any commendation from us needless. He has added a number of illustrative notes to Dr. Smith's part of the book, and somewhat more than a hundred pages of supplement, to bring the narrative down to our times. In this latter portion, considerable space is given to an account of the Greek Revolution of 1821, and to the modern literature, and present condition, political and social, of the people. The Professor's recent visit to the coun-

try has furnished him with peculiar advantages for treating of these topics. Dr. Smith's illustrations by wood-cuts have been retained,—some of them improved,—and their number increased. We think there can be no doubt that the work, in its present form, will be the popular History of Greece.

6. The Physical Geography of the Sea. By M. F. Maury, LL. D., Lieut. U. S. Navy. New York: Harper & Brothers. &c. 1855. Large 8vo. pp. 274. [With Charts.]

One would suppose that the physical geography of the Sea must be rather an undiversified subject,—that a description of the "waste of waters," affording but little scope for variety of details, must soon cease to interest. If any one has an impression of this kind, let him read Dr. Maury's treatise, and be set right. We have scarcely met with a work that has given us more instruction and pleasure than we have found in perusing this. Under the author's clear and familiar treatment, the ocean no longer seems a mere mass of waters, unvaried except by storms and tides; it becomes a living thing, as it were, an immense vital organ, composed of a wonderful congeries of powers, and performing a wonderful part in the natural economy of our terraqueous globe. Its currents and drifts, the temperature of its different parts, the depths of its several basins, its contents, the mountains, table-lands, and profound vallies that occupy its bottom, its action on the atmosphere, and the counteraction, its processes of evaporization, the courses of the winds bearing its vapors to the regions where they are precipitated in rain or snow, the great maritime routes across its expanse, and how they are determined by oceanic and atmospherical phenomena,—all are set forth in a plain, vivid, and very impressive manner. We seem to gain almost as definite an idea of the geography of the sea, and of the circuits of the winds, as we have of the geography of the land. What adds greatly to the profit and interest of the reader, he is made acquainted with the observations, experiments, and scientific methods, by which the given facts are ascertained, and with the philosophical principles on which they depend. The series of Plates, at the end, illustrate the currents of the sea, and the courses of the winds, in the same way that our common maps illustrate the face of the continents.

7. The Works of Philo Juædus, the Contemporary of Josephus, translated from the Greek, by C. D. Yonge, B. A. Vol. i. London: Henry G. Bohn, &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 515.

Two or three volumes of this set have already appeared, though we have received only the first. We notice the publication, for the sake of those who wish to become acquainted with Philo's doctrine and method, but who shrink from the vexatious task of following the winding, and often fine-spun, thread of his speculations and conceits

through the Greek original. His works are about the earliest source, now extant, of that Eclectic Philosophy which subsequently made so great a figure at Alexandria. Several of the Christian fathers, of the first centuries, drew largely from him. This was especially the case with those of them who contributed the most towards forming what eventually became the Orthodox system of divinity. In his speculations, we find some of the germs of the doctrine of the Trinity. We find the *Gnosis* of the Alexandrian Christians almost matured by him; and in him we also find the allegorical and spiritualizing methods of interpretation developed in all their extravagance and whimsicality. Whoever would trace back the doctrines of the ecclesiastical system to their roots, and whoever would account for many of the notions held by the ancient fathers, should study Philo.

8. You Have Heard of Them. By Q. Redfield: New York. 1854.

We have here a series of sketches of some prominent celebrities in the artistic and literary world. Some forty or more characters, mostly actors, actresses, composers, and singers, are described by one who claims to write from personal knowledge. "Q" represents, we believe, a Mr. Rosenberg, who, through his position as literary and operatic critic for some foreign journal, enjoyed the opportunity of introductions to persons that attracted public regard. The sketches are lively, though somewhat vulgar and *rouè-ish* in tone, and there is no lack of scandal in the volume, for persons who relish that literary condiment. K.

9. Memoirs of the Life, Exile, and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon, by the Count De Las Cases. With Portraits and other Illustrations. A new Edition in four volumes. Redfield: New York. 1855.

Mr. Redfield is evidently ambitious of the foremost rank among the publishers who deserve popular gratitude. His press has provided some of the most fascinating literary reading in "Moore's Life of Sheridan," "Macaulay's Speeches," the lectures of Mr. Trench on Proverbs and Words, and the glorious series of "Noctes Ambrosianæ." Now we have the Las Cases Memoirs printed in convenient form and at moderate cost. It is wholly needless for us to speak at length of their value, or of their charm. Those who have read them in more costly editions will eagerly avail themselves of the opportunity to own them, that they may have the privilege of frequent recurrence to their seductive chapters. It is the vivacity of "Boswell's Johnson" brought to the interpretation and portraiture of the most marvellous genius of modern times, that these volumes offer to us. They give us Napoleon's career and fortunes illumined, as it were, from behind,—the paler colors of history vivified by the light of his own criticisms, explanations, and confessions.

Nothing can be more interesting than to look behind the scenes,

and listen to the conversation of a great man in privacy and misfortune,—to know how such an intellect and temper as Napoleon's bore the reverses of the world and the loneliness of such a destiny as St. Helena unveiled. But how much more valuable is the privilege when we find his daily, informal talk devoted to explaining his plans, characterizing his generals, analyzing the causes of his ill-success, unfolding his reserved intentions, revelling in his once vast hopes, and predicting the political combinations of the coming years in Europe, and the future of her civilization! Such is the literary programme of these volumes just issued by Redfield. In connection with "O'Meara's Napoleon," for which we were recently indebted to the same press, they give us a far more life-like conception of the genius and character of the Emperor than the most pretentious or brilliant history of his career.

Moreover, besides the views of Napoleon on great questions of State policy, and elaborate papers on some of his most important battles, (such as the remarkable paper on the blunders of Wellington in the conduct of the Waterloo campaign,) we find in the journal of Las Cases, revelations of the literary tastes of the Emperor, of his views of religion and education, of his estimates of the great captains of the past, and of the influences that shaped his destiny. The singular combination of mental greatness and littleness of temper, of stoicism and irritability, of simplicity and pretence, of dignity and boyishness, which makes his character such a riddle, is vividly illustrated in the incidents of his exile, and his bearing under the inhuman policy of his keepers. It is remarkable how many of the characteristic sayings of Napoleon, and representative features of his character, in the most brilliant literary pictures of him, such as Mr. Emerson's, are drawn from these memoirs at St. Helena by Las Cases. Most persons, too, we believe, will find ample justification in their pages for the sharp and witty description of his character drawn by the Abbé de Pradt, and quoted on the 269th page of the first volume: "The mind of Napoleon was vast: but after the manner of the Orientals: and through a contradictory disposition, it descended, as it were, by the effect of its own weight, to details which might justly be called low. His first idea was always grand, and his second mean and petty. His mind was like his purse: munificence and meanness held each a string. His genius, which was at once adapted to the stage of the world, and the mountebank's show, resembled a royal robe joined to a harlequin's jacket. Endowed with wonderful and infinite shrewdness; glittering with wit; seizing or creating in every question new and unperceived relations; abounding in lively and picturesque images, animated and pointed expressions, the more forcible from the very incorrectness of his language, which always bore a sort of foreign impress; sophistical, subtle, and changeable to excess,—he adopted different rules of optics from those

by which other men are guided. Add to this the delirium of excess, the habit of drinking from the enchanted cup, and intoxicating himself with the incense of the world; and you may form an idea of the man who, uniting in his caprices all that is lofty and mean in the human character, majestic in the splendor of sovereignty, and peremptory in command, with all that is ignoble and base, even in his grandest achievements, joining the treacherous ambush to the subversion of thrones,—presents altogether such a Jupiter-Scapin, as never before figured on the scene of life." Many of the plausible principles that give such false coloring to Mr. Abbott's new life of Napoleon, are drawn from these memoirs; and yet no more efficient antidote can be found, after all, than these very volumes supply to the sentimental puerilities of that work. K.

10. Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. By Dugald Stewart. Revised and abridged, with Critical and Explanatory Notes, for the use of colleges and schools, by Francis Bowen, Alvord Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in Harvard College. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1854. pp. 490.

We have taken great pleasure in renewing our acquaintance, through this volume, with the wise and graceful chapters of Dugald Stewart. Those who look for abstruse or startling speculations in high metaphysics, will find nothing to feed their appetite in these sober but fascinating disquisitions. They deal with the *physiology* of the mind, if we may use such a figure, not with its *anatomy*, and not at all with the slippery problems of ontology. The forces by which, and the ways in which, the mind does its work, are laid bare with a patient analysis and a most delicate discrimination. The titles of the chapters are: "Of Attention;" "Of Conception;" "Of Abstraction;" "Of the Association of Ideas," showing the influence of this law on our speculative conclusions, our judgments in matters of taste and morals, &c.; "Of Imagination," with its relations to art and genius and character; and "Of Reason," with reference to the laws of belief. The editor has performed his task very faithfully, and has condensed two volumes of Stewart's Essays very skilfully into one. It is an excellent manual, and one which will improve the student's taste in English writing, while it stimulates him to an acquaintance with the deeper problems of philosophy. We earnestly commend this volume to all who have not made themselves familiar with the most charming interpreter of the Scotch school of metaphysicians. K.

11. The Principles of Metaphysical and Ethical Science, applied to the Evidences of Religion. A new Edition, revised and annotated for the use of colleges. By Francis Bowen, A. M. Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brown. 1855.

Prof. Bowen, the editor of the work last noticed, appears here as

a philosophical author. The chapters of this volume were originally delivered, in substance, as lectures before the Lowell Institute. They deal with the highest and the ever-recurring philosophical themes which intertwine themselves with religion,—"The Idea of Cause;" "Fatalism and Freewill;" "The Nature and Functions of Conscience;" "The Origin of Evil;" "The Goodness of God," &c. The work is designed to be a compend of the principles of ethics and metaphysics, so far as they affect the foundations of religious belief. Mr. Bowen is a very faithful and a very clear writer, and his volumes claim the attention of every student in the higher region of thought. K.

12. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. A Romaunt. By Lord Byron. A new Edition. Edited by Thomas Moore, Esq. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company. &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 235.

We insert this title-page, not as an occasion to extol a poem that is above all praise, nor to speak of this volume in particular, but to direct the notice of our readers again to Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, and Co.'s cheap and elegant editions of English Poets. Such a Publishing-House as theirs has been is a benefaction to those who, like ourselves, are too poor to buy costly books, and who yet enjoy with a peculiar sense of gratification the luxury of a thoroughly prepared volume on beautiful paper and large neat type.

13. The Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou; with accounts of his Writings, and Biographical Sketches of his Seniors and early Cotemporaries in the Universalist Ministry. By Thomas Whittemore. &c. Vol. III. Boston: James M. Usher. 1855. 12mo.

Embracing sixteen years of Mr. Ballou's Life, from the close of his editorship of the Universalist Magazine in 1828, to the settlement of his first colleague, in the School-Street Society, 1844. In this volume the narration is continued in the manner of the preceding volumes,—the biography being equally full, indeed exhaustive, and interspersed with copious extracts from Mr. Ballou's writings in the order in which they appeared, together with accounts of the occasions in which he took part, and notices of all the events affecting our Denomination during this period. It is hardly needful to say that the work continues to be, as it has hitherto been, an abundant repository of materials for our religious history. Let us here say, what it gives us great pleasure to mention, that the indefatigable author is engaged in preparing a new and much enlarged edition of his "Modern History of Universalism." We are sure that all our brethren will bid him "God-speed," in the laborious task, and we trust that, when it shall be accomplished, they will show *practically* that they appreciate the service.

The present work will be concluded in another volume.

14. The History of Christ, according to Inspiration; Chronologically arranged in one consecutive narrative. With the References. Boston: Heath and Graves. &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 251.

With the annunciation, birth, and life of our Saviour, we here have all his sayings, introduced in their chronological order, as they are recorded in the New Testament. His conversations and addresses are inserted in the words of the inspired Record; and the narrative, throughout, is either in the very words of our Common Version of the Scriptures, or else follows it so closely as never to depart from its style and spirit. The whole is founded on a Harmony of the Gospels,—for the most part on that of Dr. Robinson. The compiler seems to have arranged the work primarily for classes in Sunday-Schools. The plan strikes us as a very excellent one; and the execution, so far as we have examined it, is all that can be wished. We commend the work to the use of Christian families, and especially to the attention of teachers and superintendents of Sunday-Schools.

15. Memoirs of Celebrated Characters. By Alphonse de Lamartine, Author of "History of the Girondists," etc., etc. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 437, 406.

Lamartine is so well known, as an author, that there is no occasion for us to describe his manner. It is admired by many, who are, perhaps, of better taste and of better judgment in such matters than ourselves. In a work like the present one, however, there is not so much scope for some of the faults that have been alleged of him, as in a history of events and parties with which he was personally connected. We will only mention the several persons of whom he here gives memoirs: Socrates; Jacquard, the Silk-weaver of Lyons, in the beginning of this century; Joan of Arc; Cromwell; Homer; Gutenberg, the Inventor of Printing; Fenelon; Nelson; Heloise; Christopher Columbus; Bernard de Palissy, the Potter; Roostam, the hero of Persia; and Marcus Tullius Cicero.

16. Analytical Class-Book of Botany, designed for Academies and Private Students. In Two Parts. Part. i. Elements of Vegetable Structure and Physiology. By Frances H. Green. Part. ii. Systematic Botany: Illustrated by a compendious Flora of the Northern States. By Joseph W. Congdon. &c. New York: D. Appleton and Company. &c. 1855. 4to. pp. 228.

Mrs. Green's portion of this interesting volume is written with a lively admiration of the beauty and marvellous wisdom that are displayed in the vegetable kingdom, and evidently with a very familiar knowledge of its laws, processes, and thousandfold developments and formations. The organs and other distinguishing parts of plants are shown by means of handsome drawings, that bring them before our eye, and abundantly illustrate the text. The second part of the

volume, by Mr. Congdon, is occupied by a classification of the orders, genera, and species, accompanied with scientific descriptions. This classification is very full. Here also many of the different orders are illustrated by well executed wood-cuts. The whole work, embracing both parts, is evidently designed to excel the current class-books on botany. Without assuming to pronounce on the strictly scientific merits of such a treatise, we do not hesitate to say that it is very interesting, and that it seems well adapted to the use of students.

17. Gradual Lessons in Grammar; or, Guide to the Construction of the English Language, by the Analysis and Composition of Sentences. By David B. Tower, A. M., author of "Intellectual Algebra, or Oral Lessons in Algebra for Common Schools," &c. New York: Published by Daniel Burgess & Co., &c. 1854.

The following sets of Class-books have been received from the publications of the new firm of Sanborn, Carter, and Bazin, Boston:

18. Latin Lessons and Reader, with Exercises for the Writing of Latin; Introductory to Andrews and Stoddard's and Bullion's Latin Grammars, and also to Nepos or Cæsar, and Krebs' Guide. By Allen H. Weld, A. M., Principal of North Yarmouth Academy. Tenth Edition, enlarged. 1855.

19. Weld's English Grammar, illustrated by Exercises in Composition, Analyzing, and Parsing. By Allen H. Weld, A. M., Author of Analyzing and Parsing Book, Latin Lessons and Reader. Improved Edition. 1854.

20. An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, for the use of Students in High Schools and Colleges. By Thomas Sherwin, A. M., Principal of the English High School, Boston. Seventh Edition. 1855.

21. The Fifth or Elocutionary Reader, in which the Principles of Elocution are illustrated by Reading Exercises in connection with the Rules: designed for the use of Schools and Academies. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1855.

22. The Fourth Reader, or Exercises in Reading and Speaking. Designed for the Higher Classes in our Public and Private Schools. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

23. The Third Reader, consisting of interesting and progressive Lessons. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

24. The Second Reader, consisting of easy and progressive Lessons. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1855.

25. The Child's First Reader. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

26. The Grammar School Reader: containing the essential Principles of Elocution, and a series of Exercises in Reading: designed for Classes in Grammar Schools. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

Art. XV.

Reasoning from Scripture by Inference.

One of the most fruitful sources of error in the interpretation of Scripture, is the current method of reasoning by inference from the mere letter. Every word is supposed to have an unvarying force, a fixed and uniform value. The sacred page is alleged to be inspired, not only as regards its doctrines and precepts, its sublime truths and imperative calls to duty; but equally in the verbal clothing of those truths and injunctions; in the mere fashion and ornaments of their dress. This theory of *plenary* inspiration is pressed so far that it practically excludes from the divine records all the usual elasticity of language, the natural exaggerations of strong feeling, and the vivid flashes of imagination and poetic genius; and reduces the current of divine communications to a scientific, unvarying, and unimpassioned flow. Adopting such a theory, the commentator feels at liberty to deal with the Scriptures as the student of science deals with his formula, or as the lawyer deals with the statute-book. He places the language in all possible lights, strains every thread of its texture to its utmost tension, and deduces from it all the meaning that the mere words can be made to express or imply.

I will not here enter upon an examination of the arguments which, on the one hand, are supposed to support this theory, nor of those, on the other hand, which are supposed to overthrow it. It is enough for us, preparatory to the chief design of this paper, to show several reasons why the doctrine of *plenary* inspiration, as it is called, is practically unimportant, even if it is true.

In the first place, the masses of men of the present time who read the Scriptures, do not read them in the original languages in which they were written, but in the current languages of the day. However faithful these translations may be, it is still true that the divine thought is now clothed in a simply human dress. And if the terms originally embodying that thought, were chosen by inspired

men, and did rest on the authority of the Holy Spirit as to their fitness, the terms now embodying it have been chosen by uninspired men, and rest on the authority of the human understanding as to their fitness. The most we can now say is, we have inspired truths in uninspired formulas. If, therefore, the doctrine of plenary inspiration were disproved, it would but place the original Scriptures in the same attitude, for all practical purposes, as these translations now hold.

A second consideration, showing still more clearly the non-importance of the claim of the Scriptures to verbal inspiration, is found in the different records, given us by the four Evangelists, of Christ's own words. It is obvious to the most casual reader of our translations, and still more manifest to the careful student of the original Gospels, that Christ's very words have not been uniformly recorded by the several historians. At best they have given us in many instances but a free rendering of the Master's thought. If it be admitted, therefore, that Christ himself spake only the words directly suggested by the Holy Ghost, since the historians frequently exchange those words for others which they deem equivalents, we have no alternative but to seek the inspired thought in the uninspired formula. This fact may be conceded, and yet our faith in the authority and accuracy of the record, as respects its spirit and purpose, remain unshaken. A business man may despatch two messengers, the one to the east and the other to the west, on similar errands; they may receive their messages at the same moment and in the same terms; they may go each his own way and execute the command in terms differing both from each other and from the terms of their original message; and yet they may execute their mission faithfully and accurately.

I may mention, in the third place, the individual peculiarities, idiosyncrasies, styles of thought, and modes of feeling, manifest in the different compositions of the New Testament, as bearing upon the same question. Even the unskilled can readily detect differences between the writings of the bold and eloquent Paul, the zealous and ardent Peter, and the gentle and loving John; while to *those skilled* in this style of criticism, these differences

become weighty evidences of authorship. The claim of the Epistle to the Hebrews to a place in the sacred canon as a production of Paul, rests much of its strength on the supposed discovery therein of Paul's method of handling subjects and of his manner of reasoning. Nor is this a peculiarly uncertain mode of reasoning. Such characteristics are as easily appreciated as are the peculiarities in one's handwriting, upon the identification of which the most important cases in our Courts of Justice are not unfrequently made to turn. Now these peculiarities being admitted to exist, they show that inspiration adapts itself to the idiosyncrasies of its instruments; that if the Epistles were verbally suggested by the Holy Spirit, the language perfectly conforms to the mode of thought and tone of feeling of their authors, and must be treated in all practical respects as though it had been the product of their own minds. This principle is more broadly illustrated in the general style of the Scripture writings. They abound with the same peculiarities of language as everywhere meet us in mere human productions. The poetical portions are marked by all that freedom and verbal license which pervade uninspired poetical works. The prophetical parts startle us with the boldness and vividness of their figures, and delight us with their well-sustained allegories. And throughout the Bible we find those current allusions to the laws, customs, opinions, and incidents of the times, together with that free use of proverbs, hyperboles, and rhetorical embellishments and quotations, which are met with in uninspired writings. While, therefore, we reverently bow to the thought that glows on the sacred page, we are compelled to seek that thought in the use of all the ordinary rules of interpretation. And though it be granted that the divine truth is not only substantially but verbally inspired, it must also be granted that the Holy Spirit, in the suggestion of the language, conforms entirely to the current usages of men. In all practical regards, therefore, the language must be considered as the language of men—as involving the same elasticity, demanding the same abatement from, or addition to, the natural force of the words, and calling for the same caution against pressing them into any unintended service. In short, the sacred writers "speak after the

manner of men."[1] Their language is elliptical, like that of other men. They presume on many things being known as a qualification for understanding what they imperfectly state. Their language, therefore, unlike the language of mathematical science and of the statute-book, will not bear close pressing on all sides. When viewed from the true stand-point and in its proper relations alone, does its true significance unfold itself.

These obvious principles are most frequently overlooked by those who are accustomed, in accordance with the popular methods of the time, to reason by inference from the mere letter of the Scriptures, often dissociating the place from all those circumstances which can help to determine its meaning. Doctrines are thus drawn from the Bible which the sacred writers themselves never entertained. How often have we heard the woe of the wicked immediately after death, inferred from the language of the Revelator: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."[2] The inference is that the dead who do not die in the Lord are *not* blessed. Few persons, however, would think of pursuing their inferences through the passage, and show that the wicked may *not* rest from their labors; and that their works do *not* follow them. Reasoning from a denial of Christ's resurrection, Paul states, among other conclusions, that "they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished."[3] Shall we infer that they who have fallen asleep, but not in Christ, have not perished? Or shall we conclude rather that Paul makes a special application of a general truth? Again, he says, "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."[4] Hence it is inferred that they who sleep, but not in Jesus, God will not bring with him. A little reflection, however, will show that this proposition is not contained in the language of Paul. That language, at the most, simply does not exclude such an inference. It may be a truth resting on some other foundation; but before this passage can yield it any support, it must be shown, as in the former instance, that Paul's language gives his statement the widest appli-

[1] Gal. iii. 15. [2] Rev. xiv. 13. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 18. [4] 1 Thess. iv. 14.

cation it will bear. The force and implied relations of the phrases "asleep in Jesus," "dead in Christ," and the like, must also be determined by a careful analysis of all the places where they occur. Christ often concludes his parables with the emphatic exhortation, "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."[5] Can we safely infer from this language that some men have no ears to hear; or that, having ears, they were not intended to hear with? Or does Christ mean to say simply, Since you have ears, use them? Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely. These, however, are sufficient to show that very great caution is necessary in interpreting the free language of Scripture. And perhaps we cannot do better than to call attention to a few obvious rules which may guard the general reader against false deductions from the phraseology of the Bible.

I. In the first place, we shall often save ourselves from drawing erroneous inferences from the mere letter of the Scriptures by observing carefully the *main drift* of the place. The general scope of a passage will help us determine whether or not the idea, embodied in a doubtful inference, entered into the writer's mind. Of course, we ought not to press the language of any place beyond what the writer intended to teach, or at most beyond what is necessarily involved therein. We shall find very little difficulty, however, in the application of this rule to such Scriptures as have never been drawn into controversy. For example, Solomon's description of a virtuous woman,[6] though continually open to inferences from the mere letter, which would condemn most of the women of our time, is, nevertheless, easily understood in the light of the writer's aim.

> "She considereth a field, and buyeth it;
> With the fruit of her hand she planteth a vineyard.
> * * * * *
> She perceiveth that her merchandise is good."

Such particulars in the description indicate the breadth of female enterprise in the time of Solomon. In allusion to forms of labor, still prevailing in the south of Italy, he says,

> "She layeth her hands to the spindle,
> And her hands hold the distaff.

[5] Matt. xiii. 43. [6] Prov. xxxi. 16–23.

In the generosity of her heart,

> "She stretcheth out her hand to the poor;
> Yea, she reacheth forth her hand to the needy."

> "She is not afraid of the snow for her household;
> For all her household are clothed with scarlet;"

in allusion perhaps to the usual color of the warmest clothing. Or it may be that the marginal reading gives the signification more exactly:[7]

> "For all her household are clothed with double garments."

The success of her enterprises is denoted in the richness of her furniture and wardrobe.

> "She maketh herself coverings of tapestry;
> Her clothing is silk and purple."

She reflects honor upon her husband, and thus aids in raising him to the dignity of a magistrate, whose place for the hearing of causes is in the gates of the walled cities.

> "Her husband is known in the gates,
> When he sitteth among the elders of the land."

After this fashion does the description proceed. Now every one would feel how puerile would be the inference from this language, that any woman who does not consider a field and buy it; or plant a vineyard; or burn a candle through the night; or hold the distaff; or clothe her household in scarlet, or herself in silk and purple; or make her husband sit among the magistrates in the gates of the city, is not a virtuous woman. The truth is, the description is given in a garb fashioned by the circumstances of the time. Instead of an explicit statement of the qualities of a virtuous woman, such as industry, prudence, forecast, and benevolence, with domestic carefulness and vigilance, and conjugal fidelity,—instead of such an enumeration of qualities, Solomon presents their results. He shows them in action; gives us an embodiment of them in the forms of labor and responsibility devolving on the women of his day. To suppose that the mere letter of this description is rigidly employed by the Holy Spirit, is to suppose that certain forms of labor are demanded, instead of moral qualities; buying a field,

[7] See Dr. A. Clarke in loco.

instead of prudent forecast; burning a candle, instead of watchful vigilance; holding the distaff, instead of the general virtue of industry; and the attainment of the office of magistrate, instead of the qualities of an honest man.

Among the numerous illustrations of this free use of language, we may mention the announcement by the apostle James of the judgments of God upon fraudulent rich men: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."[8] Shall we infer from this passage that whenever a garment chances to be moth-eaten, it is to be regarded as a special judgment from heaven? This language was shaped by the ancient custom among the eastern nations of holding much of their wealth in a great number of splendid dresses, amounting sometimes to several thousands of the same kind. The moth preys upon these, as the rust corrupts the ordinary metals. But the passage is not so much a threatening of this specific form of judgment, as it is an announcement of the general truth that riches gotten unjustly, "take to themselves wings and fly away;" or of the still more general truth, that a miserly spirit is sure to bring upon itself a just retribution.

Further illustrations are found in the book of Job. The Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, with a view to impress him with his weakness, and said,

> "The waters are hid as with a stone,
> And the face of the deep is frozen.
> Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?"

a constellation supposed to bring in the spring—

> "Or loose the bands of Orion?"[9]

another constellation supposed to rule the winter. Now we surely are not to infer, because Jehovah addresses his servant, with regard to his own divine prerogatives, in language conformed to the then prevailing philosophy of men, that he therefore sanctions that philosophy. No

[8] James v. 1-3. [9] Job xxxviii. 30 & 31.

wise commentator would undertake to maintain that we have here divine authority for saying that the Pleiades do bring in the genial spring-time; or that Orion does rule the winter, chaining the earth as in bands of ice, and hiding the waters as with a stone. He is not teaching Job philosophy at all; he neither sanctions nor denies the current ideas on this subject. He is instructing him in his own sovereignty and perfect rule; and conveys this instruction in harmony with the errors of the time. Or, admitting the correctness of the translation—which, however, there is some reason to doubt[10]—if the language referring to the constellations be understood as a poetic embellishment, we shall be compelled to make equal allowance in its interpretation, though of a somewhat different character. Such allusions, whatever may be their character, do not permit rigid verbal inferences to be deduced therefrom. This is the principal fact we wish to keep in mind. Jesus says, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon;"[11] where his allusion to the Syrian god of riches is a mere rhetorical embellishment. His drift is, "No man can serve two masters."[12] God, as an object of highest service, and mammon, or the world, as an object of such service, are incompatible. And yet, overlooking this intent, and resting in the letter alone, we have the same evidence in this passage to prove the real existence of the god of riches, as we have to prove the existence of the God of heaven and earth. That is to say, the allusion is not intended as *proof* of either.

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[10] See Dr. A. Clarke on Job ix. 9 & in loco. [11] Matt. vi. 24. [12] Ibid.
[13] Rev. John Edwards.

14. The History of Christ, according to Inspiration; Chronologically arranged in one consecutive narrative. With the References. Boston: Heath and Graves. &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 251.

With the annunciation, birth, and life of our Saviour, we here have all his sayings, introduced in their chronological order, as they are recorded in the New Testament. His conversations and addresses are inserted in the words of the inspired Record; and the narrative, throughout, is either in the very words of our Common Version of the Scriptures, or else follows it so closely as never to depart from its style and spirit. The whole is founded on a Harmony of the Gospels,—for the most part on that of Dr. Robinson. The compiler seems to have arranged the work primarily for classes in Sunday-Schools. The plan strikes us as a very excellent one; and the execution, so far as we have examined it, is all that can be wished. We commend the work to the use of Christian families, and especially to the attention of teachers and superintendents of Sunday-Schools.

15. Memoirs of Celebrated Characters. By Alphonse de Lamartine, Author of "History of the Girondists," etc., etc. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. &c. 1854. 12mo. pp. 437, 406.

Lamartine is so well known, as an author, that there is no occasion for us to describe his manner. It is admired by many, who are, perhaps, of better taste and of better judgment in such matters than ourselves. In a work like the present one, however, there is not so much scope for some of the faults that have been alleged of him, as in a history of events and parties with which he was personally connected. We will only mention the several persons of whom he here gives memoirs: Socrates; Jacquard, the Silk-weaver of Lyons, in the beginning of this century; Joan of Arc; Cromwell; Homer; Gutenberg, the Inventor of Printing; Fenelon; Nelson; Heloise; Christopher Columbus; Bernard de Palissy, the Potter; Roostam, the hero of Persia; and Marcus Tullius Cicero.

16. Analytical Class-Book of Botany, designed for Academies and Private Students. In Two Parts. Part. i. Elements of Vegetable Structure and Physiology. By Frances H. Green. Part. ii. Systematic Botany: Illustrated by a compendious Flora of the Northern States. By Joseph W. Congdon. &c. New York: D. Appleton and Company. &c. 1855. 4to. pp. 228.

Mrs. Green's portion of this interesting volume is written with a lively admiration of the beauty and marvellous wisdom that are displayed in the vegetable kingdom, and evidently with a very familiar knowledge of its laws, processes, and thousandfold developments and formations. The organs and other distinguishing parts of plants are shown by means of handsome drawings, that bring them before our eye, and abundantly illustrate the text. The second part of the

volume, by Mr. Congdon, is occupied by a classification of the orders, genera, and species, accompanied with scientific descriptions. This classification is very full. Here also many of the different orders are illustrated by well executed wood-cuts. The whole work, embracing both parts, is evidently designed to excel the current class-books on botany. Without assuming to pronounce on the strictly scientific merits of such a treatise, we do not hesitate to say that it is very interesting, and that it seems well adapted to the use of students.

17. Gradual Lessons in Grammar; or, Guide to the Construction of the English Language, by the Analysis and Composition of Sentences. By David B. Tower, A. M., author of "Intellectual Algebra, or Oral Lessons in Algebra for Common Schools," &c. New York: Published by Daniel Burgess & Co., &c. 1854.

The following sets of Class-books have been received from the publications of the new firm of Sanborn, Carter, and Bazin, Boston:

18. Latin Lessons and Reader, with Exercises for the Writing of Latin; Introductory to Andrews and Stoddard's and Bullion's Latin Grammars, and also to Nepos or Cæsar, and Krebs' Guide. By Allen H. Weld, A. M., Principal of North Yarmouth Academy. Tenth Edition, enlarged. 1855.

19. Weld's English Grammar, illustrated by Exercises in Composition, Analyzing, and Parsing. By Allen H. Weld, A. M., Author of Analyzing and Parsing Book, Latin Lessons and Reader. Improved Edition. 1854.

20. An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, for the use of Students in High Schools and Colleges. By Thomas Sherwin, A. M., Principal of the English High School, Boston. Seventh Edition. 1855.

21. The Fifth or Elocutionary Reader, in which the Principles of Elocution are illustrated by Reading Exercises in connection with the Rules: designed for the use of Schools and Academies. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1855.

22. The Fourth Reader, or Exercises in Reading and Speaking. Designed for the Higher Classes in our Public and Private Schools. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

23. The Third Reader, consisting of interesting and progressive Lessons. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

24. The Second Reader, consisting of easy and progressive Lessons. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1855.

25. The Child's First Reader. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

26. The Grammar School Reader: containing the essential Principles of Elocution, and a series of Exercises in Reading: designed for *Classes in Grammar* Schools. By Salem Town, LL. D. 1854.

Art. XV.

Reasoning from Scripture by Inference.

One of the most fruitful sources of error in the interpretation of Scripture, is the current method of reasoning by inference from the mere letter. Every word is supposed to have an unvarying force, a fixed and uniform value. The sacred page is alleged to be inspired, not only as regards its doctrines and precepts, its sublime truths and imperative calls to duty; but equally in the verbal clothing of those truths and injunctions; in the mere fashion and ornaments of their dress. This theory of *plenary* inspiration is pressed so far that it practically excludes from the divine records all the usual elasticity of language, the natural exaggerations of strong feeling, and the vivid flashes of imagination and poetic genius; and reduces the current of divine communications to a scientific, unvarying, and unimpassioned flow. Adopting such a theory, the commentator feels at liberty to deal with the Scriptures as the student of science deals with his formula, or as the lawyer deals with the statute-book. He places the language in all possible lights, strains every thread of its texture to its utmost tension, and deduces from it all the meaning that the mere words can be made to express or imply.

I will not here enter upon an examination of the arguments which, on the one hand, are supposed to support this theory, nor of those, on the other hand, which are supposed to overthrow it. It is enough for us, preparatory to the chief design of this paper, to show several reasons why the doctrine of *plenary* inspiration, as it is called, is practically unimportant, even if it is true.

In the first place, the masses of men of the present time who read the Scriptures, do not read them in the original languages in which they were written, but in the current languages of the day. However faithful these translations may be, it is still true that the divine thought is now clothed in a simply human dress. And if the terms originally *embodying that* thought, were chosen by inspired

men, and did rest on the authority of the Holy Spirit as to their fitness, the terms now embodying it have been chosen by uninspired men, and rest on the authority of the human understanding as to their fitness. The most we can now say is, we have inspired truths in uninspired formulas. If, therefore, the doctrine of plenary inspiration were disproved, it would but place the original Scriptures in the same attitude, for all practical purposes, as these translations now hold.

A second consideration, showing still more clearly the non-importance of the claim of the Scriptures to verbal inspiration, is found in the different records, given us by the four Evangelists, of Christ's own words. It is obvious to the most casual reader of our translations, and still more manifest to the careful student of the original Gospels, that Christ's very words have not been uniformly recorded by the several historians. At best they have given us in many instances but a free rendering of the Master's thought. If it be admitted, therefore, that Christ himself spake only the words directly suggested by the Holy Ghost, since the historians frequently exchange those words for others which they deem equivalents, we have no alternative but to seek the inspired thought in the uninspired formula. This fact may be conceded, and yet our faith in the authority and accuracy of the record, as respects its spirit and purpose, remain unshaken. A business man may despatch two messengers, the one to the east and the other to the west, on similar errands; they may receive their messages at the same moment and in the same terms; they may go each his own way and execute the command in terms differing both from each other and from the terms of their original message; and yet they may execute their mission faithfully and accurately.

I may mention, in the third place, the individual peculiarities, idiosyncrasies, styles of thought, and modes of feeling, manifest in the different compositions of the New Testament, as bearing upon the same question. Even the unskilled can readily detect differences between the writings of the bold and eloquent Paul, the zealous and *ardent* Peter, and the gentle and loving John; while to *those skilled* in this style of criticism, these differences

become weighty evidences of authorship. The claim of the Epistle to the Hebrews to a place in the sacred canon as a production of Paul, rests much of its strength on the supposed discovery therein of Paul's method of handling subjects and of his manner of reasoning. Nor is this a peculiarly uncertain mode of reasoning. Such characteristics are as easily appreciated as are the peculiarities in one's handwriting, upon the identification of which the most important cases in our Courts of Justice are not unfrequently made to turn. Now these peculiarities being admitted to exist, they show that inspiration adapts itself to the idiosyncrasies of its instruments; that if the Epistles were verbally suggested by the Holy Spirit, the language perfectly conforms to the mode of thought and tone of feeling of their authors, and must be treated in all practical respects as though it had been the product of their own minds. This principle is more broadly illustrated in the general style of the Scripture writings. They abound with the same peculiarities of language as everywhere meet us in mere human productions. The poetical portions are marked by all that freedom and verbal license which pervade uninspired poetical works. The prophetical parts startle us with the boldness and vividness of their figures, and delight us with their well-sustained allegories. And throughout the Bible we find those current allusions to the laws, customs, opinions, and incidents of the times, together with that free use of proverbs, hyperboles, and rhetorical embellishments and quotations, which are met with in uninspired writings. While, therefore, we reverently bow to the thought that glows on the sacred page, we are compelled to seek that thought in the use of all the ordinary rules of interpretation. And though it be granted that the divine truth is not only substantially but verbally inspired, it must also be granted that the Holy Spirit, in the suggestion of the language, conforms entirely to the current usages of men. In all practical regards, therefore, the language must be considered as the language of men—as involving the same elasticity, demanding the same abatement from, or addition to, the natural force of the words, and calling for the same caution against pressing them into any unintended service. In short, the sacred writers "speak after the

manner of men."[1] Their language is elliptical, like that of other men. They presume on many things being known as a qualification for understanding what they imperfectly state. Their language, therefore, unlike the language of mathematical science and of the statute-book, will not bear close pressing on all sides. When viewed from the true stand-point and in its proper relations alone, does its true significance unfold itself.

These obvious principles are most frequently overlooked by those who are accustomed, in accordance with the popular methods of the time, to reason by inference from the mere letter of the Scriptures, often dissociating the place from all those circumstances which can help to determine its meaning. Doctrines are thus drawn from the Bible which the sacred writers themselves never entertained. How often have we heard the woe of the wicked immediately after death, inferred from the language of the Revelator: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."[2] The inference is that the dead who do not die in the Lord are *not* blessed. Few persons, however, would think of pursuing their inferences through the passage, and show that the wicked may *not* rest from their labors; and that their works do *not* follow them. Reasoning from a denial of Christ's resurrection, Paul states, among other conclusions, that "they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished."[3] Shall we infer that they who have fallen asleep, but not in Christ, have not perished? Or shall we conclude rather that Paul makes a special application of a general truth? Again, he says, "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."[4] Hence it is inferred that they who sleep, but not in Jesus, God will not bring with him. A little reflection, however, will show that this proposition is not contained in the language of Paul. That language, at the most, simply does not exclude such an inference. It may be a truth resting on some other foundation; but before this passage can yield it any support, it must be shown, as in the former instance, that Paul's language gives his statement the widest appli-

[1] *Gal. iii. 15.* [2] Rev. xiv. 13. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 18. [4] 1 Thess. iv. 14.

cation it will bear. The force and implied relations of the phrases "asleep in Jesus," "dead in Christ," and the like, must also be determined by a careful analysis of all the places where they occur. Christ often concludes his parables with the emphatic exhortation, "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear."[5] Can we safely infer from this language that some men have no ears to hear; or that, having ears, they were not intended to hear with? Or does Christ mean to say simply, Since you have ears, use them? Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely. These, however, are sufficient to show that very great caution is necessary in interpreting the free language of Scripture. And perhaps we cannot do better than to call attention to a few obvious rules which may guard the general reader against false deductions from the phraseology of the Bible.

I. In the first place, we shall often save ourselves from drawing erroneous inferences from the mere letter of the Scriptures by observing carefully the *main drift* of the place. The general scope of a passage will help us determine whether or not the idea, embodied in a doubtful inference, entered into the writer's mind. Of course, we ought not to press the language of any place beyond what the writer intended to teach, or at most beyond what is necessarily involved therein. We shall find very little difficulty, however, in the application of this rule to such Scriptures as have never been drawn into controversy. For example, Solomon's description of a virtuous woman,[6] though continually open to inferences from the mere letter, which would condemn most of the women of our time, is, nevertheless, easily understood in the light of the writer's aim.

> "She considereth a field, and buyeth it;
> With the fruit of her hand she planteth a vineyard.
> * * * * *
> She perceiveth that her merchandise is good."

Such particulars in the description indicate the breadth of female enterprise in the time of Solomon. In allusion to forms of labor, still prevailing in the south of Italy, he says,

> "She layeth her hands to the spindle,
> And her hands hold the distaff.

[5] Matt. xiii. 43. [6] Prov. xxxi. 16-23.

In the generosity of her heart,

> "She stretcheth out her hand to the poor;
> Yea, she reacheth forth her hand to the needy."

> "She is not afraid of the snow for her household;
> For all her household are clothed with scarlet;"

in allusion perhaps to the usual color of the warmest clothing. Or it may be that the marginal reading gives the signification more exactly:[7]

> "For all her household are clothed with double garments."

The success of her enterprises is denoted in the richness of her furniture and wardrobe.

> "She maketh herself coverings of tapestry;
> Her clothing is silk and purple."

She reflects honor upon her husband, and thus aids in raising him to the dignity of a magistrate, whose place for the hearing of causes is in the gates of the walled cities.

> "Her husband is known in the gates,
> When he sitteth among the elders of the land."

After this fashion does the description proceed. Now every one would feel how puerile would be the inference from this language, that any woman who does not consider a field and buy it; or plant a vineyard; or burn a candle through the night; or hold the distaff; or clothe her household in scarlet, or herself in silk and purple; or make her husband sit among the magistrates in the gates of the city, is not a virtuous woman. The truth is, the description is given in a garb fashioned by the circumstances of the time. Instead of an explicit statement of the qualities of a virtuous woman, such as industry, prudence, forecast, and benevolence, with domestic carefulness and vigilance, and conjugal fidelity,—instead of such an enumeration of qualities, Solomon presents their results. He shows them in action; gives us an embodiment of them in the forms of labor and responsibility devolving on the women of his day. To suppose that the mere letter of this description is rigidly employed by the Holy Spirit, is to suppose that certain forms of labor are demanded, instead of moral qualities; buying a field,

[7] *See Dr. A.* Clarke in loco.

instead of prudent forecast; burning a candle, instead of watchful vigilance; holding the distaff, instead of the general virtue of industry; and the attainment of the office of magistrate, instead of the qualities of an honest man.

Among the numerous illustrations of this free use of language, we may mention the announcement by the apostle James of the judgments of God upon fraudulent rich men: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."[8] Shall we infer from this passage that whenever a garment chances to be moth-eaten, it is to be regarded as a special judgment from heaven? This language was shaped by the ancient custom among the eastern nations of holding much of their wealth in a great number of splendid dresses, amounting sometimes to several thousands of the same kind. The moth preys upon these, as the rust corrupts the ordinary metals. But the passage is not so much a threatening of this specific form of judgment, as it is an announcement of the general truth that riches gotten unjustly, "take to themselves wings and fly away;" or of the still more general truth, that a miserly spirit is sure to bring upon itself a just retribution.

Further illustrations are found in the book of Job. The Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, with a view to impress him with his weakness, and said,

> "The waters are hid as with a stone,
> And the face of the deep is frozen.
> Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?"

a constellation supposed to bring in the spring—

> "Or loose the bands of Orion?"[9]

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[13] *Rev. John* Edwards.

of St. John's College, Cambridge, published a book in London, near the close of the seventeenth century, at sixty years of age, in which, after showing that the revolution of the larger bodies around the smaller is the more philosophical, since, unlike bulky persons who move with difficulty, it is the very nature of the heavenly bodies to move; and therefore the greater they are the more easy their motion,—he goes on to say that the Copernican theory confronts a higher principle than reason. "If we will speak like men of religion, and such as own the Bible, we must acknowledge that their assertion is against the plain history of the Holy Book; for there we read that the *sun stood still in Joshua's time*,[14] and *went* back in King Hezekiah's.[15] This relation must be true or false. If it be the latter, then the inspired Scripture is false, which I take to be as great an absurdity as any man can be reduced to. If the relation be really true, then the sun hath a diurnal motion about the earth; for the sun's standing still could not be a strange and wonderful thing, as it is here represented, unless its general course was to move. This, any man of sense will grant. And so likewise the sun's going backward doth necessarily imply that it went forward before; and if it did so, surely it moved. This, I think no man can deny, and, consequently, it is evident that the sun hath a progressive motion, and goes from one part of the heavens to the other. If it be said, as suggested by some, that the sun only *seemed* to stand, or to go backward, then farewell all miracles, for they may be only seeming ones."[16] Such is the logic of this divine, who so strongly commended himself to the University of Cambridge,—whether by means of this publication or not, does not appear,—that three years after its appearance he received therefrom the very honorable degree of Doctor of Divinity. And yet, I suppose, not an intelligent man in all Christendom can now be found to reaffirm his argument. However great the miracle recorded, the language is popular. Like popular language everywhere, it conforms to appearances rather than to reality. And when we remember that the very purpose of the record was *to give an idea* of the miracle,

[14] Josh. x. 13. [15] 2 Kings xx. 11.
[16] Quoted from the Puritan Recorder.

it will be seen that such adaptation was a necessity. A description of the events in the terms of absolute philosophy, would have been unintelligible. The drift of the sense, therefore, must rule the mere letter.

Obvious as this principle is, and readily as it will be conceded while applied to Scriptures which lie beyond the scope of partizan prejudices, it nevertheless demands not a little resolution to follow it into the domain of controversy. Perhaps the largest class of Scriptures, in the interpretation of which it finds application, is that pertaining to demoniacal possessions. The state of the facts in regard to these Scriptures appears to be as follows: The belief was nearly or quite universal in the time of Christ, excepting of course among the Sadducees, who believed in neither angels nor spirits,[17] that various diseases then prevalent were occasioned by demons. The Saviour neither affirmed nor denied the common faith. He did, however, often speak to the sick in language entirely conformed to that faith. The Evangelists have adopted the same language in their records of his healing power. From these facts the inference is supposed to be inevitable that Christ himself believed in demoniacal possessions, and that they must therefore have really existed. Now the question arises, as in former cases, What is the drift in such Scriptures? Do they undertake, at any time, to teach the *philosophy* of these phenomena? Do they ever raise the question, whether these possessions are real? Is the solution of that problem ever the object of labor, either with Christ or his historians? Is there a single deed performed, event recorded, or word uttered by them, for the purpose of showing that demons were, or were not, present? No, this is not pretended. The reality of possessions is simply a matter of inference. Christ spake as though they were real; therefore they must have been real. But Christ alluded to the Syrian god of riches as though he were a real personage; is mammon, therefore, a real god? Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, as though it were previously in motion; was it, therefore, previously in motion? The Lord spake to Job as though Orion ruled the winter and Pleiades the spring; do these constellations, therefore, rule the seasons? The apostle

[17] *Acts xxiii. 8.*

James alludes to moths and rust as though they were the scourges of God upon rich men; are they, therefore, instruments of the divine vengeance? Such questions may be extended at pleasure; and they show such a mode of reasoning to be most unsafe.

If we would interpret correctly the New Testament references to demoniacal possessions, we must not lose sight of their main drift. Christ stood before the people claiming to be a messenger from God. In attestation of this claim, as well as for purposes of general benevolence, he wrought miracles, not the least numerous among which were his healing the sick. The diseased of all classes, the lepers and the lunatics, the deaf and the dumb, the fevered and the phrensied, were alike the subjects of his power. From whatever causes their maladies arose, they yielded with equal facility to his word. His disciples and the multitudes were astonished, not that he cast out devils in contradistinction from healing simple diseases, but that he healed all manner of sicknesses and all manner of diseases among the people. In doing this, his disciples believed, in harmony with the thought of the time, that he often cast out devils, and they so recorded it. But the end at which both the miracle and the record aim, is the attestation of divine power in Christ; and this end is equally attained, to whichever cause the maladies are attributed. To have entered into any discussion of their origin, therefore, would in no wise have furthered the general aim. But, on the contrary, it would have at least partially frustrated that aim. The very perplexities which would have been created by a denial of demoniac agency in the production of disease, would have called off attention from the leading object of Christ's miracles, if they had not destroyed, in the common mind, the very foundation and necessity for the miracles themselves. To speak in accordance with the common thought, therefore, if he would be understood, was unavoidable. Had Joshua bidden the earth cease her revolutions on her axis, adapting his language to absolute philosophy, he would have been thought mad. Had Christ declared to his followers that there were no demoniacal possessions, they would have understood him to deny the reality of the diseases they saw before them. A little reflection

will show that a peculiar language grows out of such peculiar ideas; and though a speaker or writer utterly reject the ideas themselves, he is compelled to adopt, to some extent, the language which has grown out of them, in dealing with the phenomena to which they refer. His use of the language, therefore, can by no means be adduced as conclusive evidence of his adoption of the philosophy from which it has sprung. The general aim, or main drift of the place, is abundantly competent to overrule any such inferential evidence.

II. Without multiplying instances which might serve still further to illustrate the importance of the caution already named, I pass to remark, in the second place, that we may save ourselves from drawing erroneous inferences from another large class of Scriptures, by attending to their proverbial character. A proverb, I scarcely need say, is a short sentence embodying some important truth. Sometimes this truth is directly and plainly stated; and sometimes indirectly or enigmatically. Proverbs of the latter class, when construed by the aid of the grammar and dictionary—when analyzed and interpreted literally—yield a sense quite foreign to that which belongs to them as proverbs. Their proverbial sense is a wholesale sense. It pertains to the proverb in the aggregate, and not to its parts when analyzed. The dialect of every-day life, not less than that of the Scriptures, abounds with examples of such proverbs. Thus we say, "It is always darkest just before day." Literally construed, this saying would not be true. Nor do we use it to express the sense involved in its mere letter. On the contrary, it is a condensed form of administering comfort to the man who is in great trouble; of assuring him that light will soon shine upon his pathway; of bidding him be of good cheer, for deliverance is at hand. We currently say, also, that "Every bitter has its sweet, and every sweet its bitter;" not intending, by any means, to affirm this as a literal proposition. On the contrary, it is a simple declaration that every human condition has its alloy; that none is so blest as to be free from ills, and none so wretched as to be deprived of all good. "The rolling stone gathers no moss," is another proverb, true in its letter, but not used to express that truth. It signifies that

the unstable man does not get on in the world. Of a like character are a variety of phrases which have grown into a proverbial use, the sense of which depends upon that use, and must be gathered from the connexion. Thus a man unsuccessful in business, is said to have "failed," "run through," "broken down," and the like; expressions of which the literal contrariety does not mar the harmonious signification.

Suppose, now, that a philologist, ignorant of its proverbial use, should take up the phrase last mentioned, and attempt to infer from its mere letter the nature of the calamity it expresses. He would probably reason after this fashion: "Broken down!" To break is to part any thing by violence, as a bone, muscle, or tendon of the body. The phrase "broken down," then, must indicate the violent rupture of some portion of the living organism. Nor can it well be any single or unimportant portion, as an arm or a leg; because the injury, in that case, would have been specifically stated. Besides, such an injury would have been too partial to warrant the general declaration, "broken down." It is more reasonable to suppose that the man was crushed, by some heavy body falling upon him, perhaps; and was, therefore, killed outright. Having thus annihilated his victim by the inexorable rules of logic, the philologist would undoubtedly be surprised, on meeting him the next day, to learn that the extent of his disaster consisted in his inability to pay his note at the bank. Absurd as such an argument would be, it has been often paralleled by reasonings from the letter of the Bible. The phrase "son of perdition,"[18] proverbially used by the Jews for any miserable outcast[19] without reference to his future condition, has been made the basis of an argument for the endless wretchedness of Judas. Overlooking the proverbial character of the phrase, the darker shades of meaning in the word "perdition" are seized upon, and, since the phrase is general, the inference is drawn that it is expressive, not of his condition in time, but in eternity.[20]

Kindred to this is the abuse of another proverb which the Saviour applies to Judas: "It had been good for

[18] John xvii. 12. [19] Wakefield in loco.
[20] See Cruden's Concordance, on the word perdition.

that man if he had not been born."[21] After admitting that this was a common saying among the Jews to denote the wretchedness of any flagrant transgressor, and even confirming his statement by reference to the learned Schoettgen, Dr. A. Clarke proceeds to press the language and infer from it the final condition of Judas, as though it were a literal statement covering his entire being. "Can this be said of any sinner," says he, "if there be any redemption from hell-torments? If a sinner should suffer millions of millions of years in them, and get out at last to the enjoyment of heaven; then it was well for him that he had been born, for still he has an eternity of blessedness before him. Can the doctrine of the non-eternity of hell-torments stand in the presence of this saying?"[22] Pleased with his success thus far, the learned Doctor views the passage in another light. "Or can the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked consist with this declaration? It would have been well for that man if he had never been born! then he must be in some state of conscious existence, as non-existence is said to be better than that state in which he is now found." Now let us apply this reasoning to a kindred saying of Christ. "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea."[23] The drift of the good here, it will be seen, lies in the other direction. Pressing the words in the style above noticed, we get this proposition: Such a one must be in a happier state in the next world than in this; else it could not be said, it were better for him that he were drowned, &c. Now, whether this proposition is true or not, it is quite certain that the Saviour intended to say nothing on that subject. Christ's words are simply an assertion that an exemplary punishment would overtake such a transgressor. Or, again, turn to Solomon's exclamation in view of the "oppressions that are done under the sun." "Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive. Yea, better than both they is he who hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun."[24] Shall we overlook

[21] Matt. xxvi. 24.
[22] Comment in loco.
[23] *Matt.* xxiii. 6.
[24] Eccl. iv. 2, 3.

the proverbial elements in such an exclamation, and conclude that it should be literally construed. Nothing is here made to depend on the respective characters of the dead and the living. Suppose it is absolutely true that the dead are better off than the living; is that the truth which Solomon means to assert? And what Christian, accustomed to thank God for this life and for the promise of the next, would be willing to press the latter proposition as a literal one, and conclude that non-existence is preferable to the life that now is, and to that which is to come? As, in the former instances, Christ but expressed the wretched state of particular transgressors, so here Solomon but states the terrible woe occasioned by the "oppressions done under the sun." Whoever presses the language further, does not interpret it, but abuses it. Indeed, Dr. Clarke reconsiders his mode of treating the proverb relating to Judas, when he comes to consider the case of that apostate more at length; and relies on its proverbial character to set aside his own argument quoted above. His final conclusion is, that this saying of the Master does not imply the impossibility either of his repentance or salvation.[25]

The caution we are now considering, has a very wide application both in the Old and in the New Testament. Take the following from the Old Testament: "The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh." "A threefold cord is not easily broken."[26] "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"[27] "What is the chaff to the wheat?"[28] "Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his!"[29] In the New Testament, likewise, proverbs are scattered on every hand. Thus, Christ says to his disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth."[30] "Ye are the light of the world."[31] "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."[32] To the scribes and Pharisees he said, "Ye . . . strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel."[33] To Saul of Tarsus he said, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."[34] These examples might be multiplied indefinitely; but as few of them are involved in doctrinal controversy, we need not dwell upon them here.

[25] See comment at the end of Acts i. [26] Eccl. iv. 5, 12.
[27] Jer. xiii. 23. [28] Ib. xxiii. 28. [29] Hab. ii. 6. [30] Matt. iii. 13.
[31] Matt. iii. 14. [32] Ib. xv. 14. [33] Ib. xxiii. 24. [34] Acts ix. 5.

III. A third class of Scriptures, made to teach erroneous doctrines by too rigid an interpretation and by pressing the mere letter to unwarranted inferences, will be correctly understood by attending to their idiomatic character. In the New Testament especially, one thing is affirmed and another denied, when the one is more likely to happen than the other; or one thing is commanded and another forbidden, when the one is simply preferable to the other. "I will have mercy and not sacrifice,"[35] is quoted by the Saviour from the prophet Hosea. It was originally uttered in the midst of a dispensation which required sacrifices as a religious service. When, however, the offering of sacrifice would prevent deeds of mercy, its obligation must cease. This superiority of mercy to sacrifice is what the passage is intended to affirm. Again, Christ says to the people who had witnessed the miracle of the loaves and fishes, "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you."[36] Given to a multitude, every one of whom, by the very necessities of daily life, was compelled to labor for the meat that perisheth, it is quite impossible to regard the injunction contained in the first clause of the above passage as absolute. On the contrary, the Saviour plants himself upon these acknowledged necessities, and, by the strong contrasts of prohibition and command, urges the superior claim of the higher good. He thus gains emphasis for the command which he aims to enforce.

Of a like character are the words of Christ to his disciples when confirming the announcements he had made of the execution of divine judgments upon the wicked nation in the midst of whom he had toiled. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."[37] At first blush, this declaration would seem to remove all doubt touching the duration of heaven and earth. But there are at least two considerations which seem to nullify its force. In the first place, it is in accordance with Scripture usage to say one thing shall be and another shall not be, when the one is more likely to happen than the other. When the former is an event not likely to

[35] *Matt. ix. 13.* [36] John vi. 27. [37] Matt. xxiv. 35.

transpire, it becomes an emphatic way of saying that the latter cannot happen. Now to human sense, and as regards general appearances, the heavens and the earth seem to be absolutely eternal. The Saviour seizes upon this fact, not for the purpose of controverting it, but to gain a *momentum*, that he may the more strongly assert the immutability of his word. This view is confirmed by the fact that it harmonizes with the Saviour's aim—with the main drift of the place. A confirmation of the discourse he had just pronounced to his disciples, by the most emphatic declaration he could make, was the end he sought. To have turned aside to teach a new truth touching the mutability of the earth, would only have introduced confusion, or at least diversion, of thought. The allusion to heaven and earth, therefore, was undoubtedly rhetorical, and designed to give effect to the leading idea. That this purpose may be most fully gained, it is necessary to suppose that the seeming immutability of heaven and earth should constitute the basis of the Saviour's remark. Had he, instead of heaven and earth, selected for the affirmative portion of his antithesis, the tiny flower, the fading grass, the flitting cloud, or the passing shower, it is manifest that the antithesis, instead of strengthening, would have immeasurably weakened his declaration. To impart strength, the leading portion of the antithesis must be marked for durability; and the greater the apparent durability, the greater the strength. When it becomes seemingly eternal, its force becomes complete. Christ, then, seizes upon things apparently immutable, and declares that these shall sooner pass away than his words shall fail. Indeed, on another occasion, he puts his words substantially in this form: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail."[38] On the question of the duration of the heaven and earth, therefore, by this interpretation, Christ neither affirms nor denies any thing, but leaves it where he found it.

It seems probable that the Saviour's declaration touching the sin against the Holy Ghost, should be interpreted in the light of a similar principle. His language is, "All

[38] Luke xvi. 17.

manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men."[39] The meaning appears to be that all other sins shall be more readily forgiven, than the sin against the Holy Ghost; not because there is more difficulty with Deity in forgiving one than the other, but because it is more difficult to bring the transgressor to repentance, and therefore to receive forgiveness. But we need not multiply examples of a principle so obvious.

We had intended to mention another large class of Scriptures in both Testaments, of which the imagery, like that of many poets in all ages, appears to be moulded in part by rhetorical allusions to the superstitions of the ignorant, and in part by the glowing warmth of the writer. I refer to those which connect the divine judgments with changes in the heavenly bodies. But the length to which this article is already extended, precludes such a work at present.

We cannot close, however, without calling attention to the direct manner in which all the important truths of the Bible are stated. While those Scriptures which have been made to minister to the worst fears of men, abound with difficult allusions, figures, and images, and still leave much of the supposed terrible truth to be inferred, those which enforce duty or beget the highest hopes, are freest from perplexities. Besides being conveyed in plain and direct terms, the more important truths are continually recurring. They harmonize with the main drift of the Scriptures. And the brighter the hopes begotten, the more perfectly do they fall in with the teachings of nature, the holier aspirations of the human heart, the character of God, the side-indications of the divine will, and the direct aims of sovereign grace. A. A. M.

[39] Matt. xii. 31.

Art. XVI.

Christ's Last Commission.

The prominent passages from the instructions of Jesus, are distinguished for the sweep and comprehensiveness of their meaning. The focal points of his revelation do not serve so much to shed a single truth vividly upon the mind, as to throw light into a *new district* of truth, whose spaces had not before been pierced,—thus offering large room for all those peculiarities of position, sight, and study in which the various personalities of intellect are so richly manifest.

Who can tell the *precise* meaning of the parable of the mustard-seed, or of the leaven? Both together fill but three verses in the record of Christ's instructions; and yet they sketch the great truths of the immense development of the Christian religion from a seemingly insignificant origin, and the laws of the process by which it is to attain its victory. Just in proportion to the richness of the mind that studies them in historic learning and imaginative sympathy, will circle beyond circle, and deep under deep, of meaning be uncovered in their simple imagery. The mustard-tree will stand at last, perhaps, for the solid and organic fibres of the church, springing up from the vital thought of Christ, spreading out into various sects, rooted in the earth and arching over every kingdom, justifying every branch which it puts forth by the blossoms it bears, and the flocks of peculiar birds that find shelter in it against the chills, heats, and storms of the world. And the leaven, it may be, will become the sign of the slow and subtle interfusion of life by which the spirit of Christianity is to mingle itself with the thought and the public sentiment of mankind, losing its distinctive character as an aggressive force by intermixing with the element it is to vivify, until the glorious era shall dawn, when the *world* shall be the church, and the whole life of man an organism of the Holy Ghost.

There is kindred splendor and vastness of suggestion in the Lord's prayer, which opens to us the directions of

the pious spirit; in the parable of the good Samaritan,—that magnificent transparency through which the abstract light of human brotherhood falls at once upon the imagination, the conscience, and the heart; in the phrase, laden with light, "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth," of which modern astronomy seems the only proper commentary; and in such a passage as that which stands, I sometimes think, at the summit of Christianity: "If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good things to them that ask him,"—a passage which casts the purest elements of our nature out upon God, and bids us conceive of him as the infinite enlargement and expression of *the best* qualities ever exhibited by man.

The creed-spirit which would compress the beams of light within as narrow a compass as possible, is just the opposite of the disposition of Jesus' mind, which shot its suggestions over the widest space possible, and offered free leave for all intellects to follow them on their kindling journey, and to study whatever they found interpreted by them within the sweep of their day. So foreign are the tendencies of thought and the laws of narrow analytic expression, which belong to creeds, from the broad methods and habits of the soul of Jesus, that it would be impossible,—I believe we may say this with the most sober literalness,—it would be *impossible* to state the doctrines of any of the long creeds of modern Christendom in the language which Jesus used, even if we should break up the verses of the four Gospels into words, and have free use of them, as a vocabulary, to put into any collocation that our ingenuity could devise. Used as a dictionary, we could not arrange from them, into a piece of verbal mosaic-work, those formulas which councils and synods have voted into authority, as the epitome of his religion, the tests of discipleship, and the masters of our thought.

So much by way of introduction to some thoughts on the last commission which Christ gave to his disciples. What symbolic propriety that the religion, announced by a chant of peace for the whole earth and good will to all men, and inaugurated by offerings of sages from distant

lands, and the simple homage of shepherds—the extremes of humanity, lowly Jews, and cultivated Gentiles, bending before the new born babe,—should close its earthly biography, in the person of its founder, by a benediction upon all nations,—a catholic outlook over that world which the great teacher was soon to see in its round beauty, blessed by the common light, as he ascended from it into the peace of God! The disciples stood facing nearly every known kingdom of the world as he gave them that command, ready with missionary staff and zeal to bear the quickening words of Jesus into every clime, and to robe them in every tongue. We should expect, therefore, that the comprehensiveness of the thought of Jesus, characteristic of the prominent doctrines which he proclaimed in the midst of his ministry, would be *especially* manifest in the great commission with which it closed—that he would gather up the prominent forces of his faith, and sketch its vast scheme of relations to humanity, by the formula with which his delegates were to visit the nations. I believe that the terms of this final message of Christ do present the outline of the Christian religion, and that we have not studied that phrase as we should, by a spiritualized imagination, as presenting three large symbolic centres from which the peculiarities of Christianity radiate, and without *all* of which, neither its truth, its symmetry, or its power, can be complete.

Generally, we know, this last charge which the record ascribes to Jesus, is interpreted simply as a dogmatic statement of the Trinity, and the authoritative form to be used in every baptism of individual converts—the affirmation of the one great mystery of his religion forever beyond the reach of reason. But it is quite a singular fact that, in no instance of baptism by any apostle, recorded in the book of Acts, was this formula used. The phraseology of that service was "into Christ" alone; into the name and faith of Christ. And that it could not have been uttered by Jesus as a Trinitarian formula, the summing up of his doctrine concerning the divine nature into a final creed, is evident from the fact that he had never taught them a word of the personality of the Holy Spirit, or associated it in any way as a mystery with the unity and personality of God. Neither could the primitive

church have gathered such a meaning from this formula; since, by the general confession of the students of Christian antiquity, the personality of the Holy Ghost was not distinctly conceived till some generations after the apostles.

From the wide and intricate complications which this phrase has suffered with the Trinitarian scheme, many Unitarian believers have been reluctant to use it, feeling that some mental insincerity is involved now in its repetition. But we cannot afford to lose it; we ought not to yield it; we ought not to feel any mental perplexity in uttering it as the comprehensive formula of faith; and so there is a peculiar call upon us to examine it, and see, if, instead of a dogmatic statement of the composition of the divine nature, it is not rather a triplicate symbol of the ideas, forces, and privileges, which Christianity has communicated to the human race.

"Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father." So far this formula of baptism expresses the great contribution of Christianity to the world's knowledge of God. There is no science of the divine nature in the four Gospels, no definition of the relations which the Divine Spirit holds to the universe, no *settlement*, because no *discussion*, of those questions of creation, or development, plastic, unconscious intellect, or theism, which inquisitive philosophers have raised for the torment of faith in modern days. Indeed, there is no deliberate and official announcement of the divine paternity itself in the Gospel, as though Christ consciously brought it as a momentous secret, which he was to shed for the first time upon the astonished darkness of nature. It leaped out in his instructions as a truth that *could not but* be seen. It was a light so clear upon his spirit that he alluded to it as an unquestionable, self-evident, granted fact—the luminous vesture which all eyes must see wrapping the dark substance of the Divinity. It is quite remarkable that, in no passage of his instruction, did Jesus place it in any critical opposition to the severer countenance of Deity which Judaism had portrayed, or to the starry darkness of the pagan mind; but talked to the Galilean peasants and the more cultivated listeners of Jerusalem, as though it were a part of their unconscious faith, which he would kindle into more luminous power.

We believe that there is hardly an instance in the records of Christ's instructions, where this statement concerning God is made antagonistically, or, even in the direct sense, affirmatively. In almost, if not quite, every instance it is published *obliquely*,—used to endorse a duty or inspire a sentiment,—as in the passages: "Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect;" "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven;" "That thine alms may be in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee;" "When ye pray, use not vain repetitions, for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him;" "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, &c., that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." The parable of the prodigal son will also occur to the reader, as the crowning instance of the custom of Jesus to *assume* the paternity of the Infinite, and reason *from* it to all the needs and sins of the human heart; instead of to state it and develop it as a truth consciously peculiar to his own mind, which was to undulate from him over the darkness of the race.

Let no one think that this exposition of the method in which Christ unfolded the character of God, is a point of mere *speculative* interest. It shows us how the whole character of Christianity is involved with the spread of that conception; how its power and its honor are suspended upon the clearness with which it is held, the eloquence with which it is preached, and the force with which it is felt. Is not a new force given to it when we find that the royal soul that once stood upon this globe,—seer and speaker of the laws and mysteries of the spiritual universe, did not utter that truth, sublimest of all that can be conceived by human reason, as though it was a beam straying miraculously from the sky, and reflected from a supernatural intellect upon the world, but as one that seemed to rush in upon his vision from all quarters of nature,—shed from the sunlight which wrote it by magical photography upon his brain,—sprinkled by the show-

ers, written in mystic lines upon the lily's leaf, symbolized in the best affections of every parent's heart, effluent from all those beneficent arrangements which make the world a glorious home for humanity, and hinted sweetly in the poetic confusion of those lights in the Syrian sky, to which perhaps from that upper room in Jerusalem, he pointed the gaze of his disciples, uttering for them their struggling meaning, when he said, on the night of the last supper, "In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you?" Given to us in this way, we are made, not only to receive the truths of the divine goodness and parentage, but also to feel that it is the open secret of all nature, waiting only for the discerning soul to catch its import; we are taught to look with welcome upon every new illustration which any science, or any saint, bears in from nature of the heavenly Goodness, as proving that the rays of Christian light have struck with new splendor upon the world, and to feel that we are away from nature if it is not the habit of our thought; and we realize that the religion which began in the spontaneous instructive assurance, pervading the soul which launched it, of the Infinite paternity, commits us to the fearless and full interpretation of that truth by all the wisdom, and according to all the needs, of the world.

"Baptizing them into the name of the Father." We delight to read in this the great commission of the religion of Jesus to the world *to carry out* that truth into all the results which it justifies, to saturate feeling with it, and to hold it as the key-note of faith, with which every other truth must be toned in harmony. The fragmentary instructions of Jesus, drawn out by the shifting accidents of his short career, implied this faith; and so when the Gospel is to pass out from his personal superintendence, and to be given by the hurrying Apostles to the general mind of the world, the message seems to be, "Take this great doctrine, O ye peoples, as the chief legacy of heaven to earth; take it as the inspiration of your thought and the life of your philosophy; take it as a rich principle only feebly developed as yet, and draw it out in all its consequences, which will become parts of the Christian religion, if they are fairly drawn; cling to it as the great sun-truth, around which, as Christian thinkers, all your

other ideas must be disposed, and from which they must draw their light; take it, and interpret it, and make this universe a home by its radiance, and so flood your life with holy joy!"

Regarded in this light the baptismal formula recognises the most important principle, that the first records of our religion are filled with *the germs* of truth which Christ, the great Sower, has scattered over the soil of the church, to be developed by the light and climates of after centuries. It puts us in the right attitude towards the first documents of Christianity, which give us the name and force into which our spirits must be baptized, and which they are then to develope for themselves, rather than the detailed and systematic truth from which we are to gather our instruction by texual compilation. And so it should seem that we may judge of the fulness of our baptism into Christianity, by the extent to which the thought of the church, or the world, is permeated with the sense of the paternity of God. For only to the degree that our philosophy is colored with it, our theories of the universe illumined by it, our conceptions of destiny brought within its sweep, has the great commission to the Apostles been fulfilled with us. All our defects of faith in that principle, all our hesitances to apply it as the touchstone of truth in controversies, all our beliefs and moods of feeling inconsistent with it, and that will not come by natural evolution out of it, are signs of our imperfect baptism into the name of the Father.

It is quite remarkable, therefore, that the Christians who hold that truth with the greatest fervor, and unfold it with the largest freedom and with the most ample richness of results, are treated as the most conspicuous heretics of the church. Not that there is *any* party which as yet has worthily unfolded the latent burden of that word; but it is an astonishing fact that, just so far as that work has been attempted, the church has recoiled with anathemas and fear. For the fundamental controversy in the Christian church now, is about the question, whether or not Christianity is a sacrificial scheme, or only a special revelation; and the decision turns upon the radical conception formed of God. Is the *throne*, or the *home*, the chief symbol of His rule? Do the laws of the court, or of the family,

express the methods of His jurisdiction? The prominent arguments against the liberal Christian interpretations of the relations of human souls to the Infinite, their acceptance to favor on terms of penitence and a new disposition, are drawn from the grating mechanism of human law, and the impropriety of the adoption of such a discipline by a human ruler or judge. Men do not see that the typical picture of divine government is that of a perfect home; and that only such ideas of sacrifice and terms of reconciliation as are consistent with a perfect parent's government of his children are admissible in the Christian faith. They do not see, and yet they ought to, that every principle of any theology that shrinks from that touchstone is contraband in Christendom, however it may uphold itself by subtle analogies from the imperfect methods in civil society of maintaining the sanctity of law. They dare not believe, as yet, that their Maker is so good; they dare not accept the principle that whatever flowed from the loftiest conception which the wisest and most spiritual mind can reach of the infinite love of God, is part of the Christian religion,—just as much part of it as if Jesus had spoken it,—since we are baptized into that name, and committed to all that streams out of it in the advance of human feeling and thought.

But now we may open volume after volume of the chief treatises on divinity, by the most able and pious writers of the church, and we shall find chapters on the omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence of God, on His holiness, His justice, and His hatred of sin, on the trinity, and atonement, and the conditions of salvation,—but scarcely ever a page, and never a chapter, on the Divine Fatherhood, the personality of Infinite Love. The position of man as a criminal in the universe before the bar of eternity, and the intricate conditions of a verdict of acquittal, exercise the wit and fervor of the thinkers of Christendom; but no book which can be used in the divinity schools, no treatise of theology from any reputable quarter, to set forth the universe as a home for man, his life as a training in the Father's house, his sin as the blight and infamy of ingratitude, and his destiny, if he will only keep in the path of the infinite purpose, an illimitable hope.

What might not human life be now, what might not

the glory of the church be, if all its energies had been devoted to interpret and impress that central fact of the New Testament, if it had said with eloquent joy to human nature,—"here is your hope, here your life, here the inspiration of your mind, the probe of your conscience, the resource of your heart in trouble, and your warrant of everlasting trust,—this universe was born out of love and is ruled by conscious all-wise mercy; there is no earthly being so good as God, there is no human parent beneath whose disposition, if lifted to the throne of this earth, you would think it a supreme privilege to live, that is so good as God; every ray of human virtue and tenderness points upward and loses itself in the fountain of that light that irradiates eternity!"

How glorious the landscape of the church would be, how rich its volumes of theology—*living* bodies of divinity, not anatomies of its skeletons—if the various sects had been the interpreters of that vast globe of truth; no other Calvinists but the delineators of love as justice, and the strong grasp of the celestial beneficence; no other Methodists but such as are prophets of its wealth in the gift of Jesus and the treasury of grace; no Swedenborgians except the seers of the mystery by which every star, and rock, and stream, and hill is a hieroglyph of its wisdom; no Unitarians but exponents of it especially in the spiritual laws that enfold our actions and weave our days into moral unity; the peculiar Universalists only poets of the Apocalypse when death and hell shall be cast into the lake of fire, and the tears be wiped from every eye, and the New Jerusalem descend out of the sky; and the Catholics dramatists of it in ceremonial art, liturgy and suggestive hierarchies charged in every office with positive and practical good will. If we were wholly Christian sects, such would be our mission,—to be the various instruments through which every note of the symphony of creative and redeeming love is to be worked out from the simple theme which gladdened the air of Palestine from the life and lips of Christ. Then, the heart of the world would have been reached and melted long ago by the voices of the church. Its literature would have been sublimer than the stars, richer than sunset, sweeter than flowers, more delightful than the bursting of trees in

spring-time bloom. It would have been the suggestiveness of all this, and of the mellow sentences of Jesus, lifted up into essay, treatise, sermon, and song. The movement of Christ in history would have been continued through souls that would have flung their highest thoughts and sentiments of the infinite Fatherhood into society, as a luminous ever-extending trail of the Christian revelation, and so we should have had a Christian literature, not as now unreadable, cold, logical, analytic and dreary, but living, sympathetic and positive, baptized in the name of the Father.

"And of the Son." In harmony with the spirit of the Christian religion we should read this second statement of the baptismal formula, not as the declaration of a new element *in the Godhead*, to be associated with the Father in our thoughts, but as representative of that *Sonship* which Christ revealed in his person and his truth. It refers not to *God* but to *humanity*, as represented in Christ. The answer to the fact of the divine paternity is the filial posture, consciousness, and service of humanity. It is only as *we are sons* that we know inwardly the reality of the divine paternity. Christ is the type of sonship, the exponent of the principles, feelings and faith by which we are superior to nature, by which we have the assured joy of heavenly kindred, and which, if triumphant, would bind the race together in a fraternity of children.

The church has always felt that the life of Christ was a *representative* life, emblematic of the privileges and glory that belong in essence to all created natures. The faith has been constant in Christian history that he is the second Adam, in whom we have federal unity. We should cling to this faith with firmness and with fervor. However exalted we feel compelled to rank Jesus in the scale of created existences, we should hold to the faith that he is typical of the special station and relationships in which all souls stand, and which all souls hold towards the Infinite. And just as the church is committed to a thorough development of the doctrine of the Father, as part of the Christian religion, so they are commissioned to unfold all the glory of Christ's attitude and life in the world, as the true scheme of man's existence and his offered privilege. What intimacy of intercourse between the soul of Jesus

and the pervading spirit! What friendliness between his mind and the religious truth of the world! What manliness of dealing with the foes that tempted his heart and the trials that roughened his way! What thorough insight into the subserviency of nature to the soul! What a joyous spring from the shadow of every sorrow into the arms of infinite sympathy and compassion. It is the mission of the church to show us all, that these postures and privileges were not the exceptions of Jesus, miraculous nature, but that such religious glory belongs to *every* life. The fall of man is the lapse from such a posture in the world, and such a heritage of thought and faith. Christ is the restoration of the type. He wore a peculiar drapery of office and of sorrow, so that his *career* should not and cannot be copied in servile imitation; but in his feeling of superiority to nature, and his free access to God; in his clear vision of all the glory in this universe as part of the furniture for the home of man; in his sense of the greatness of the spirit as lying in humility and devout deference to the heavenly will; in his assurance of an ever-enduring life, and in the joy which, beneath all the surface tribulations, suffused his heart;—in these *essentials* of his *character*, he is the type of the privileges that belong to the soul in the Father's universe, and the blessed suggestion of what all science, all Christian literature, and all preaching, should conspire, under the guidance of his religion, to make the life of man.

The church, by the sanction of the life of Christ, should preach not only duty but joy. Its power should be, not in the ethics which it lifts solemnly over the will, but in the supernatural joy, the deliverance from all sin and bondage and skepticism, the *ecstacy* with which it tempts the soul. St. Paul felt this; his spirit mounted into this ecstacy through his Christian conversion, and he has given the best exposition of the sweep of meaning in the second member of the baptismal phrase, where he described the human race as in its minority under the law, but reaching its majority and attaining its freedom in Christ. Now, he says, we are no more servants but sons, and if sons, then heirs of God through Christ. Paul never preached the detailed acts of Jesus as models of

duty; with regard to humanity he taught one great lesson from Christ's mission,—that we are not citizens and subjects of God's empire, but the family of His love, coming into possession in all the divine property of the universe, and lifted out of fear by knowing that all worlds and times were created for our culture and our home.

Millions receive the baptismal waters upon their brows, but only a few, only here and there a spirit, have fulfilled in their feeling its vast significance and privilege. Only such souls as have been lifted out of servitude, and been able to touch the sun with their thought, and say, it is mine, and with consecrated imagination have seen the stars netted into a domestic canopy, and have felt the air as full of the Father's providence as of His light. Most of the Christians have lived rather in fear than in joy,—have crouched before God rather than felt His presence as their inspiration, and have nurtured a piety that articulated itself in trembling deprecation of judgments and sinking *miseries*, instead of bursting into joy.

"And of the Holy Ghost." The peculiarity and practical power of the earliest Christianity were associated with the gift of the Holy Ghost. It was that by which John, the forerunner, prophetically distinguished the baptism of Christ from his own lustration by water, and in the church which the Apostles guided the gift of the Holy Ghost was the attestation of a sincere conversion and a vital faith. Here, too, how sadly we shall miss the richness of this final phrase in the great commission, if we interpret it as a reference to the inward constitution of the divine nature and the completion of a mysterious Trinity,—if we do not see in it the symbol of the third great element of power in Christianity—the disclosure of the constant presence and pleading of the Spirit of God in human souls. The Jews had no notion of a God with whose spirit they could have secret fellowship. He was monarch, dictator of laws, claimant of punctilious service, rewarder and judge from the veil of inaccessible light and the distance of a terrible throne. Heathenism had no deity whose spirit, impinging upon the boundaries of human personality, could be felt as quickening any holy emotion, or starting any new undulation of life. Christianity brought the conception of the intermixture of our souls with the infinite

life and love, showing that we grow out of God spiritually, and are visited by Him secretly, as the harvests grow from the soil by the bounties of the air. This is the great mystery of our life, that we are of God and in Him, are nothing without Him, and yet are distinct, potent, guilty or meritorious personalities. Even the *bad* man lives incomprehensibly in God, and perverts His grace into private infamy, as the Upas tree sucks its deathly fragrance and distils its blistering juices from the same air and earth which yield to the orange its loveliness and nectar. The constant life of the soul in God is one of the seminal ideas of the gospel. St. Paul welcomed it as the most practical ray in its rich grace. The eighth of Romans, and the second chapter of the first Corinthians, record his jubilant appreciation of that principle which came forth to him in his Christian consecration. He never speaks of Christ's words as a revelation; his whole conception of the privilege of Christian faith was foreign from our theories of a literal statute-book of the Holy Spirit. God revealed Himself by the diffusion of His light into every heart, he said. It was the spirit dwelling in believers that gave them counsel, peace and joy. All the sons of God, he said, are led by the spirit of God, and God revealeth the greatest mysteries unto us by His indwelling spirit.

And here again we find the church committed by the baptismal formula to the development of a most rich and amazing truth, that God comes nearer to us in our feelings, in the structure of our personality, than He does in the greatest splendor and magnificence of the outward universe; that he is nearer to us in our sense of right than he would be if the light of a new star, just sped from His Omnipotence, should break upon our brain; that His justice is more intensely manifest in the throb of shame and anguish that shoots through our desecrated bosom, than it would be if the very glare of hell should scare our sight, streaking the horizon with its smoke and flame; and that His word is as solemn in the call to duty and the inward pointing of the better way in some crisis of experience, as it is even in the printed paragraphs of the Sermon on the Mount, or the written dealing of Jesus with the young lawyer's soul.

What power would not the church have invited to its aid, if, instead of its microscopic and almost malicious analysis of the depravity of man to abase our nature, it had kindled up by the lenses of the New Testament the consciousness of a wrestling God in every unconsecrated bosom, and made every Christian believer feel that he is a walking sanctuary of the Infinite, with oracles breathing articulate messages from the spirit in the Delpic avenues of the breast. This privilege belongs to us as Christians, —that pages of kindred sacredness with those of the New Testament, are written every day on the delicate tissues of the spirit; that warnings ominous as those of Sinai mutter often through the flaming conscience within, and that voices as really, though not as audibly, from God, break over the spaces of the soul in seasons of moral victory, as the tones which said of Jesus, "This is my beloved Son." If we were taught this, and made to respect our nature thus, the rich symbol of baptism into the Holy Ghost would be fulfilled in the instruction given to us, and the steady conciousness that would be sustained by it.

Of course we have only hinted the outlines and directions by which our thought should be guided in listening to the last commission of the Saviour. Does it not thrill us with joy to see the formula of baptism open to a threefold symbolic sense, instead of coiling itself into an enigma—suggesting by its three arcs the full circle of Christian truth, and representing the principles which liberal Christianity is striving to commend to the heart, and conscience of the world. By such insight into its phrases, we are brought visibly into the Christian fold. For every man baptized into the belief, by the belief of the paternity of God, of the Sonship of humanity on the earth, and through eternity, and of the indwelling and inspiring presence of God in all His children,—does he not fulfil the creed with which the church sprinkles her children and devotes them to Christian training? does he not fulfil it, if not in the usual theological and sectarian sense, yet in a sense *nobler* than that, and consonant with the instruction and spirit of the Apostolic age. Oh, that, by discerning this richer symbolic significance in the great formula of our faith, we might open from all grounds *of sectarian* battle a retreat to the hills, to re-form as one

army, back at those impregnable lines of defence in the revelation itself, where Christians may stand together and be unconquerable, not by each other, but by all the skepticism, error and sin of the world. "For the Christian formula itself is no wedge of division, but an inclusive bond of union, and is perverted to a purpose directly contrary to its own genius and design, when it is changed to the keen instrument of a wound. Verily, so wide as it is in its language, avoiding all the sharp and thorny distinctions of man's device by which we are so tangled and severed, and having its birth back of those discussions and criticisms of which it is now too often the perpetuating sign, it should be regarded as Christ's own easy and blessed yoke, meaning all that the reverent imagination can ever find it to mean, under which all may come, Catholic and Protestant, Trinitarin and Unitarian, establishment and dissent, yielding to every one, with its regenerating power, also the double blessing of freedom of thought and largeness of love.

God as the Father, the Sonship of humanity on earth, with its attendant privileges and duty, and the all pervading vitality of the Holy Spirit, is there any need that we be urged to continuous and more fervid zeal for a Christianity that emblazons such a Trinity of principles upon its standards? All that is glowing and glorious in such a scheme of deity, of revelation, and of life, all that is searching in the appeal of such a faith to the conscience, or inspiring in the breath of it upon the heart, calls upon us to be more devoted to its maintainance, more interested for its progress, more liberal in our consecration of time and means to diffuse it by missionaries, by institutions and by the press, and more careful in our efforts to illustrate and commend it through reverent, cheerful and charitable lives. Liberal Christians are consecrated to the publication of such a scheme of the gospel, to such a large symbolical interpretation of the great commission.

The world looks to us to show that the vision of noble truth is consistent with zeal, that a religion of austerity is not the only one in which the power of the spirit dwells, and that the passion for the gospel, as the enduring and ever-deepening need of human nature, is not cooled and and paralysed by the process that gives us a Christianity worthy of our reverence and love. T. S. K.

Art. XVII.

Attractions of the Pulpit.

The attractions of the pulpit of the present day, if considered in themselves alone, are, doubtless, far superior to what they were anciently. The ministry has grown with the growth of other things; and if not fully up to the spirit of the age, has at least advanced nearly in ratio to the progress of the race.

Of course, I do not refer to the ministry of any particular sect, in this remark, but speak of the pulpit generally. And I do not overlook or deny the fact, that there have been individual cases of ministerial popularity in former times, which towered above the mass of their age in a similar manner to what some do now. I only claim that for learning, talents, eloquence, and all which goes to make up what may be denominated the attractions of the pulpit, the present age may be regarded as probably superior, on the whole, to that of any former one. Fenelon, and Hall, and South, and Wesley, and Whitfield, and Murray, and other divines of similar celebrity, who have done their work on earth and passed to their rest, would doubtless be regarded as great and good men were they living now; but I think that they would not be received as remarkably popular preachers by our present congregations. They were so in their own times, partly because they had fewer rivals than the popular preacher has now, and partly because the great body of the people were far less cultivated then than they are in our own age. We can find their equals now in almost all our cities and large towns, and a much better and more general system of public education has raised the mass of the people to a higher culture than the body of those enjoyed to whom they preached; so that he who is now seen over the heads of the multitude must be a much taller man than those eminent servants of Christ to whom I have alluded.

Regarded simply in themselves, then, as I have suggested, the attractions of the pulpit are much superior now to what they were in previous ages. Comparatively,

however, it may be very different. Certainly the pulpit has not that deep root in the hearts and affections of the people generally which it had in earlier times. It has been, for many years, gradually losing its hold upon the public mind. In this country a marked change is visible in this respect. The church, instead of being a desirable place of resort, as it has been regarded,—a place where everybody goes on Sunday, who can go,—appears to be declining into a condition of pauperism; and its public services, if we except those of some which are considered as exceeding fashionable, or which have remarkably popular preachers, are attended only by comparatively a few. At least, such is the case to a far greater extent than it used to be. Even within my own recollection, the change in this respect has been striking and mournful. I can well remember when, in most towns with which I had any acquaintance, every person except the very aged and infirm, the sick, and those who were necessarily their attendants, even to the very small children, just as fully expected to be present at public worship on the Sabbath, as they did to have their daily food at the usual hours, or practise any other thing which was regarded as a necessary part of life. There was not only a more profound respect for religion and its ordinances, but a deeper personal interest in meetings for divine worship. Most persons appeared to regard it as a source of personal gratification to join in the exercises of such an occasion. They found it exceedingly pleasant to do so, and it was no slight cause which could keep them away.

But it is not so now, as a general thing. There may be certain towns and places where the change in this respect has not been as great as it has in others. Some scattered communities, especially in the agricultural districts of the interior, modify their habits of this kind more slowly. But still the change is felt, more or less, throughout them all. I discover it wherever I go. In all our larger towns and cities especially, with the exceptions already mentioned, of a few cases in which churches are regarded as quite fashionable, or have very popular preachers, houses of worship are rather thinly attended, and the congregations of Protestant sects do not keep pace, in their increase, with the increase of the population.

So far as my experience and observation go, this is strictly and mournfully true.

To verify this fact, I will take the city of New York as an example. A somewhat careful estimate made, partly from my own observation, and partly from the statements of reliable persons, satisfies me that only about *one-fifth*, certainly not more than *one-fourth*, of its entire population can be found within the walls of its churches on any Sunday in the whole year. Of course, those who are absent at one time, may, some of them at least, be present at other times, and those who are present on one Sabbath, may not all of them be present at other times; but I have stated the extreme number of attendants at the most favorable time, and something like the number of non-attendants at all times

In all probability, not attempting great exactness, there are more than *two hundred and fifty thousand* persons in that city, every Sunday, who do not see the inside of any place of religious worship.

In Connecticut, generally, there is a greater number of church-goers, in proportion to the whole population. In Hartford, and the larger towns of my acquaintance, the average number of attendants, in fair weather, will approach nearly to one third of the community.

Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, would probably exhibit a somewhat fairer statement. Massachusetts might average nearly as many as Connecticut, while as we pass off West and South, the number of those who attend public worship will be found comparatively to diminish with great rapidity.

But whether these few statistics are wholly reliable or otherwise, I am sure that no one who has given the subject much attention, or who cares for the interests of Christianity, if he considers the facts even in their best form, will fail to acknowledge that there is cause in them for the most bitter regrets, if not alarming fears. Regarded in their most favorable light, they are sufficiently mournful to arrest attention, and to throw a shadow across the hearts of those who are toiling for the spiritual interests and salvation of humanity.

It may not be unprofitable to consider some of the more prominent causes of this state of things.

In looking for the principal agencies which are concerned in its production, I have no doubt that some of them may be traced back to the pulpit itself. Its deteriorated condition is owing partly to its own defects. I believe that it has had, and possesses even now, notwithstanding all its progress, many imperfections and faults which have gone far to aid in alienating the affections of the public. In too many cases it has been distinguished for its rigid and blind conservatism, when it ought to have been the pioneer in every true reform. It has too often been narrow and intolerant, and uncharitable. In many cases it has been more ready to scent out heresy, than to rebuke vice, or do battle with wrong; more ready to insist on a speculative dogma, than on a plain principle of practical right. Its spirit has not been sufficiently mild and kind to harmonize with that of Jesus, nor have its teachings generally been directed, as they should be, to the common wants and affairs of every day life. These suggestions will find their most forcible application to what is arrogantly termed the Evangelical pulpit. The more truly liberal churches have been far less offensive in these respects. But of whatever faults a severe scrutiny might convict the pulpit generally, the indifference of the public mind to its interests cannot be traced to causes of this kind alone. For these causes have been quite as great at any previous time as they are now. They were even greater a quarter of a century ago, when instead of the present church attendance, of from one-third to one-fifth of the population, the ratio would be nearly three-fourths of the whole. So that the greater part of the change, at least, must be owing to other influences than the defects of the pulpit itself. What are they?

Let it be considered that one great object of the Protestant pulpit, and one from which no small part of its attractions spring, is the giving of religious instruction. Also, that as a community becomes truly enlightened in religious as well as other kinds of knowledge, the necessity for pulpit instruction diminishes, in the same proportion.

This would seem too evident to require much elucidation. Where there is but little light, general information,

or active intelligence among the people, the pulpit, although of a lower grade, becomes a highly attractive as well as efficient means of imparting knowledge. To instruct the mass of men is one object of its institution. To teach the great truths of Christ's religion, to explain its doctrines and enforce its duties, to throw light upon all our spiritual interests, hopes, and assurances, forms a great purpose of its very being. And as society becomes gradually better instructed in regard to all these matters, as it rises to higher and higher attainments, its members will come gradually to look upon the church very much as the adult looks upon the old school-room of his childhood. It is the place where he was assisted in acquiring his education. But he begins to feel now that he knows about all that is taught there, quite as well as his teacher does, and so, as a matter of course, his personal interest in it dies away. He thinks that he has outgrown it, and to some little extent at least he is, in one sense, probably correct.

Regarded therefore in this aspect alone, as a means of religious instruction, I admit that the pulpit must be expected to decay in its attractions about in proportion to the improvement of society in regard to popular religious information. Still I am unwilling to allow that it has really nothing to do in this respect even for the best cultivated mind in any community. The presence of such in our churches may render higher pulpit attainments and qualifications necessary than are commonly found in the ministry; and, after all, I cannot but think that if those individuals *felt* right about the matter, if they were really as devout in spirit, or as religiously inclined as they ought to be, in their disposition and affections, they would find that, with all its imperfections, the pulpit would have some attraction for them still.

I know that clergymen generally like to hear preaching even if it is not of the highest order. Although they give most of their time and thoughts to studies of a religious character, and are probably better informed, on all subjects treated by the pulpit, than other persons, yet I think that they will bear me witness that, as a general thing, they not only find a pleasure in listening to the preached word, but learn something also from even a poor

sermon. There is such a variety of aspects in which truth may be presented, so different a complexion does it take in passing through different minds, that a good minister will glean something instructive from about every sermon which he may hear. I have often felt myself deeply interested and profited by a sermon which embraced perhaps not a single fact or thought but such as had long been familiar to my own mind. The mode of presenting its truths and the spirit and unction with which they were enforced, baptized the sermon into Christ and blessed it to my soul's edification. And I have usually found it to be the case that clergymen, older and better and more experienced than myself, are quite as apt to be interested in an ordinary pulpit effort as are those who are not so far advanced as they in the wisdom that cometh from God.

These facts would seem to indicate that very much depends on the temper, the spirit, or the disposition of those who hear; that the more truly good and devout the mind and the heart are, the more attractions will be found in every pulpit effort which is at all respectable.

Now if this is really the case in regard to preachers; if, as a general thing, they can derive some profit or instruction from even an ordinary sermon, must we not infer that its failure to impart information is not the principal reason for its being so unattractive to the most enlightened and best educated portions of society?

It should be borne in mind here also, that there is still a very large proportion of every community who are comparatively ignorant on most religious subjects; whose ideas, so far as they have any, are vague and unformed, and to whom the pulpit is still a most necessary means of assistance. Indeed, if we take these alone, and connect with them only those of our children and youth who are old enough to be instructed, we might have enough to fill, twice over, every church through the length and breadth of the land.

While such as these continue to exist, the pulpit can never become unnecessary, even as an agent in teaching; and ought, for this reason if there were no other, to be sustained even by those who can find in its ministry nothing instructive for their own minds. It should likewise

be remembered, that this is but one office of the pulpit after all. Doubtless it is one of its most important purposes, but not its only one. The church is a place for *worship*, as well as for teaching; and, in Protestant lands, standing or falling with the pulpit, is the *public adoration of God.*

Another reason for the present comparative unpopularity of the pulpit, may be found in its new rival, the lecture-room. This, I have no doubt, has helped to take from it some of its former attractions, and lessen the public interest in its ministry. Courses of popular public lectures are now common to almost every town and village throughout the whole land. They enlist some of the finest specimens of talents and eloquence which the country can furnish. None but such indeed could properly hope for any great degree of success in this work. Men who are celebrated as brilliant writers, and fine speakers, take it up now as a regular business affair; and it is not uncommon for some of the more popular among them, I believe, to lecture in some forty or fifty different places perhaps in a single season.

They choose the most favorable topics from the whole domain of art, science, philosophy, and morals; from almost every department of study and of thought, selecting such as will most readily and deeply excite the public attention. As a general thing, but a single lecture, is prepared in the year; the writer gives to it all the time and care that he can wish; he repeats it wherever he goes, rendering it familiar to his own thoughts, and therefore doubly effective in delivery. Under these circumstances the production is one of a high order, and has a captivating influence upon the public mind. Now when a community has listened to a series of these efforts for twelve or fifteen successive weeks, as is often the case, how very tame and dull comparatively must the ordinary discourses of a Sunday appear! If the people are seeking only for intellectual gratification, or a pleasant mental stimulus,—and this doubtless is chiefly what many are after, both in the church and the lecture-room,—the sermon will probably seem a heavy and uninteresting affair to them. The ordinary Sabbath discourse cannot compete with the lecture in these respects.

Unless favored by exchanges, the minister must prepare two, at least, every week; many of them must be upon topics of no great popular interest; vicious habits, tastes, and inclinations, must be combatted in the hearer, rendering the effort still less palatable,—for wholesome counsel is somewhat like medicine, very necessary to be taken, though not very pleasant to take; and the sermon must sometimes be prepared too in the midst of a press of other cares and duties, domestic and parochial; very possibly when "the head is sick and the heart is faint"; and under these circumstances, I have often wondered, except in the case of some remarkable man, how the average of pulpit efforts should be equal in interest to what they are. Certainly these facts should be taken into the account, not only when estimating the demands which can properly be made upon the ministry, but especially when considering the attractions of the pulpit. If I am asked how it is, that some of the most popular lecturers are themselves clergymen, and not only celebrated in the former office but equally so in the latter, I can only reply that, by great natural endowments, such as God confers alone upon a chosen few, constituting the nobility of his intellectual empire,—aided perhaps by attainments that are hardly possible to any others,—these are exceptions to the common rule, and must be so regarded. The mass of the ministry, at any rate, can never hope to rival them, and ought not to be expected to do so.

Alluding to the lecture and the lecture-room in this manner, I wish carefully to avoid being misunderstood. I would not have these done away with, or perhaps essentially altered. In many respects they have been of very great benefit to society, and their rivalry of the pulpit has been merely an incidental evil, for which they are not to be condemned, but which could not nevertheless be wholly overlooked in a paper of this character. It is, in this matter, very much as it has been in years past with what was known as Revivalism. A celebrated ranter would go into a society and get up a "protracted meeting." He would be a very popular and effective speaker. His handful of discourses would be mainly prepared before hand, and by the time he had gone through with these;

having previously repeated them until they were unusually familiar, exciting, and powerful, the people would be heartily sick of their dozy old pastor and very likely get up an indignation meeting and turn him away directly. After having tasted pepper, how could common food be tolerated? It would not be pungent enough. I can recal several instances of which this is a literal history. A very similar influence has been exerted by the lecturer upon the pulpit,—very innocently to be sure, but not the less really; and after listening to his attractive and brilliant performance, it is with far less relish that the people sit down to an ordinary ministerial entertainment on the Sabbath.

It may be mentioned, also, that the pulpit has, now especially, still another more formidable rival in the press. Reading, in this age, is about the cheapest of all our luxuries. A man can obtain all that he wishes with little trouble and at a nominal cost. With our daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly issues, added to all the unnumbered books, pamphlets, and other publications, every nook, corner, and cranny of society is full to overflowing. There is enough, and more than enough, for every one; and if a person were to read all the time he could hardly devour a twentieth part of it. With the increase of general enlightenment, the public taste demands a greater supply of reading matter; and this increased supply in return has stimulated and sharpened the public appetite, until some considerable amount for each person is regarded to be as necessary almost as his daily food. Occasionally a new book, with some of the daily and weekly papers, and probably a magazine or two, will be found on the tables of most of our families, even of the poorer classes. If we then take into the account the fact that the greater portion of our population are daily laborers at some kind of industrial employment, that many of them use up the intervals of business hours in domestic or other duties, it will be seen that there is little opportunity left them for reading except on Sunday; and how very natural it is that they should seize upon that time for the purpose, and leave the poor preacher to utter his homily to naked pews! In many of these publications, book and periodical, they find a greater

interest and attraction than they can in an ordinary sermon; and unless the preacher is a remarkably popular man, or has announced some very exciting topic for discussion, the book, the magazine, or the paper, will be chosen in preference to the pulpit effort.

Chiefly on this account, it has now become a common thing, especially in New York and Philadelphia, to get out, in the Saturday papers, attractive notices of taking subjects of preachers that will be exhibited on the following day. It is thought to be about as necessary in insuring a large congregation, as a similar advertisement would be to crowd the theatre or the circus. I cannot but think that this practice generally is in bad taste, that it argues a morbid and unhealthy state of the public mind, and that where it is adopted, except on some very peculiar occasions, it tends slowly to defeat its own object, inasmuch as when no particular preacher or subject is mentioned, the inference is that nothing which deserves much attention is to be expected.

I ought not to omit the mention here of still another cause of the decline of pulpit attractions, viz: an all-engrossing, and, if possible, increasing devotion to worldly affairs, chiefly money-getting. I believe that there are more valuable riches in the Bible than in California, but the latter will find ten miners probably where the former will get one. There is a growing and dangerous *mania* in regard to this matter. Men love distinction, as well as pleasure. And in a free government like ours, where European notions of caste are nominally prohibited, the disposition which has instituted its orders of nobility there, finds activity here in the attainment of wealth, and seeks to build up a sham aristocracy by the prestige and power of great riches. This may not furnish the sole motive in any case; it may not be even a leading motive with all; but that it is a prominent one with many can hardly be doubted. The whole tone of their deportment and habits indicate it. If they cannot gain legal titles and honors, they will strive for the position and influence which these give through the over-shadowing greatness of gold. Pleasure, too, is to be purchased with its gratification for the appetites, and indulgence for all sensual lusts. Many regard these as the most desirable

aims of life. And it is for the attainment of such things that most of the labor and struggle of this mad world are directed. Even where business efforts seek ends that are not wholly as base as these, it is too seldom that they are elevated to the high plane of duty, spirituality or religion. The great tendency of the public mind, therefore, is earthward, not heavenward. And as sordid habits cut their channels in the soul for the flow of thought and feeling, the higher realities of existence are not regarded, and churches are uncared for, except as they minister to the pleasures of the passing hour. Thus the pulpit must be very popular and the sermon very exciting, or the mind of the hearer will be in his warehouse or counting-room, or his body enjoying a comfortable repose.

I have thus spoken of the decline of pulpit attractions in general terms, and suggested a few of the more prominent general causes of it. There are, however, certain peculiar causes existing in different denominations, which I would call attention to briefly, before closing this article. If I am not greatly deceived, the growing unpopularity of the Orthodox pulpit, is very much owing to the irrational dogmas which it inculcates. These are growing daily more distasteful to the better class of people everywhere, sufficient evidence of which may be found in the fact that the few clergemen of that school who have somehow got a little better reputation for liberality are decidedly the most popular. H. W. Beecher, and Dr. Bushnell will have more hearers than men of the same talents who are supposed to have a more rigid creed. Orthodox clergymen generally have sufficient learning and talents to be influential, and their pulpits will become attractive as their preachers become liberal.

The Unitarian pulpit is liberal enough, and has enough of talents and scholarship, to be popular; but it has not enough of manliness and moral courage in the utterance of its whole faith. In this respect, I regard it as time-serving and disingenuous. It will become influential as it assumes a true apostolical boldness. In proportion as it shuns not "to declare *all* the counsel of God," it must gain upon the public esteem and affections.

But how is it, I may be asked, that the Universalist pulpit is not more popular? It has not the offensive dog-

mas of Orthodoxy, or the hesitating indecision of Unitarians, to render it forbidding; why then, is it not far more attractive? It is not the want of talents. No class of men, of the same number, it may be said without any vain boasting, embraces more native intellect than is to be found in the Universalist ministry. It is not the want of a liberal, genial, rational faith. No faith can be more so than ours. What we need most of all is a *better education.* Our ministry lacks in scholarship, in the preparatory training that comes chiefly and best from schools. This, I cannot but regard as our deepest want at present. More and more does it press itself upon my thoughts daily, from observation, enforced by the eloquence of a bitter personal experience. My brethren will surely bear with this plain utterance, for it reflects upon very few perhaps more than upon myself. True, we have quite a class now in our ministry, who are not deemed unworthy of the honors of the higher literary institutions. Some of them have been liberally educated, and many others through the bitter toils of years of self-culture have risen to almost equal attainments. But, after all, the majority of those who fill our pulpits have never been properly educated, either by the schools or by their own efforts. Passing, by a single leap almost, from the farm or the work-shop to the church-desk, with little more than the preparatory training which boys ordinarily get in a country town, though strong native talents have given them a good degree of success, yet their utter ignorance in regard to most of the scholarly attainments has lost them the sympathy of the better informed, and sometimes disgusted the more refined. I am very desirous to avoid being misunderstood in this statement. I speak of what is not so much their fault as their misfortune; though I cannot but feel that in many cases where early advantages have not been enjoyed, subsequent labor well directed might have done more to make up the deficiency.

To give our pulpit its best position, to render it as attractive as it may be, our preachers must have a more thorough preparatory training. They must be professionally educated, just as much as the lawyer, the doctor, or the tutors of a college. In the present age, as culture and enlightenment increase among the mass, nothing will,

answer as a substitute for this. It is imperiously demanded, and we shall continue to suffer until it is gained. I rejoice, therefore, in the prospective establishment of colleges and theological schools for Universalists. And although there are many other things, that I cannot now mention, which must constitute vital elements of an attractive and efficient pulpit, yet I humbly hope that through these facilities for a better literary and theological training, our ministry may rise to a position which it has never yet attained, and wield an inflence never before felt from any Protestant establishment.

Tufts College, and the institution at Galesburg, Ill., with the theological school about to be established in New York, are promising heralds of the better time coming. Let the denomination keep them in its thoughts. Let our men of wealth give them the needed pecuniary vitality. If they are seeking any of the decent aims of life, what better investment can our rich men make of the few thousands wanted here, which are hardly a drop in the ocean of their possessions? M. B.

Art. XVIII.

Church History.

Our present purpose is to offer a few commendations of Church History as a part of educative reading and study for all classes. Within a few years a new interest has been awakened towards this department of church literature, to be traced, in part, to the fresh manner of treating the subjects involved, the more comprehensive and thorough spirit of research, the clearer discernment of the interlinking of the ages, and the superior candor and freedom from the power of mere class opinions. We are thankful that this new interest exists, and that so abunddant and excellent are the means afforded to nurture and expanded it. It argues good things for the church *universal.*

Our Master, on a certain occasion, gave a great thought which may here have our attention, affording us a leading idea for our guidance:—"Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up."

Our Saviour said this in justification of his course in setting the people against the teachings of the scribes and Pharisees respecting certain forms and ceremonies which were by them deemed essential. The Pharisees had complained of his disciples for neglecting certain forms enjoined by the "traditions of the elders," and Jesus, in answer, had shown that by these traditions they "transgressed the commandments of God," and thereby he at once destroyed all the moral force of those traditions. If the traditions contravened the commandments, they had no authority, and no ceremony enjoined by them could be binding. Jesus specified instances of this contradiction between the Pharisaic teachings and the commandments of God, adding, "And many such like things do ye." Mark vii. 13.

Here he sets the example of testing all human teachings by one standard, that is, Do they carry out or modify the effect of the Word of God? And, to give us courage to battle with error, to examine its basis and claims, to trust in the grand issue which the providence of God shall secure, he said to those of his disciples who asked him if he knew that the Pharisees were offended, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up."

This is a grand prophecy. Weeds drink up the life of the soil as well as useful plants, and it is good to see the labor of the husbandman where he plucks the useless plant, shakes the soil from its roots, and lays it bare to the withering influence of the sun. So must error be plucked up. While it has its root in the mind of man it drinks the life that otherwise would be given to truth. It requires for its support an expenditure that should be the supply of something good, useful and enduring. Man puts on it a false value, and it chokes the growth of whatever he may really possess of divine knowledge.

Jesus would have his disciples to be, not only teachers of truth, but destroyers of error; and he seems to intimate that they must not expect that by simply planting

the truth, they may expect its growth to crowd error out of the mind, but a work at *rooting up* must be performed. Error must, many times, be dislodged in order to find a place for the planting of truth; and the destruction of error may become like the withering of the plucked weeds which impart in this condition nourishment to the soil.

There is something morally beautiful in the cheerfulness with which Jesus contemplated the inevitable exposures of his truth. He foresaw, and foretold, how tares would be sown where his wheat was planted; and while "the field" was "the world," he beheld the variety of fortunes through which his kingdom must pass, and the complete victory which should, in due time, be accomplished. That soul has the most of God who has the greatest trust in the omnipotence of the truth. The truth and the mind were made for each other. Error has only human support; truth has divine; and it is a part of the best education of man to be interested in the vicissitudes through which our religion has passed, that he may see how imperishable are the teachings of Christ. By this course we shall better estimate the value of the labors of Reformers who, from age to age, have been the rooters up of error,—who have called the people from human traditions to the divine commandments, and directed to God that reverence which men were paying to their fellows. This work has yet to be continued. Traditions now usurp the place of revealed duties. Many doctrines, ceremonies, usurpations and vanities are plants which yet remain to be rooted up and laid bare to the consuming fire of the Sun of Righteousness; and how can we be interested in this duty better than by giving some attention to Church History, or to that survey of the great events, men, and opinions, which are most intimately connected with the history of doctrines and methods in the Christian church.

To this I would invite attention. It is not a matter merely for ecclesiastics, but for all to whom religion in its purity is of value, and who would discipline their powers to the divine labor of separating truth from modifying errors. What the Saviour said should be done, in respect to the rooting up of every plant not planted by his Father, is a

labor that man, under God, is to perform. It is unwise not to be interested in any God-like work; and if the wars and fightings in the State absorb so much attention, because the condition of humanity is so much affected by the issues, why should not Church History have our attention on the same ground? It is the history of the mightest power—a power that lies behind and gives direction to more of the world's battles than we are aware of—a power which affects the condition of humanity more than any other element of social action.

Many minds are kept from all the lessons of history because they say they can retain only "general impressions" of what they read or hear. But there is great worth in these "general impressions." It is these which hold for us the benefits of preaching. We cannot retain the texts, divisions, arguments, illustrations, and applications of all the sermons we hear, but *impressions* favorable to our growth in religion remain—our feelings, our affections, our sympathies, retain the influence of all this preaching. We are better, we are happier, for it. And wise was the church-goer who compared these general impressions to the influence of the water on the linen she was bleaching—the sun dried it all up, and no trace could be seen of the quantities she had poured on the linen; "but," said she, "the linen grows whiter and whiter every hour." So, general impressions received from hearing or reading historical truths, may bleach out many an error, many an evil prejudice, which stains the soul. "General impressions will enable us to treasure up in our minds all the great leading lessons, all the philosophy of history," says one of the best teachers of that branch of learning.

Church History, equally with the history of the State, affords stirring events, dramatic scenes, remarkable characters, enlarging our knowledge of human nature and giving greater efficiency to our own ideas of right and truth. We obtain from it more comprehensive views of men and times; we see from what small beginnings great results have flowed; how evil and its remedy have sprung up together—the one luxuriant for a while, the other of slower growth, but of enduring beauty. We are made able to unite cause and effect more wisely; to become less deceived by pretension; to enhance our estimate of

calm judgment, dispassionate speculation, the nobility of adherence to principle; and we cannot fail to see the demand for broad charity and genuine tolerance, as we look on the diversity of character and opinion where there is equal honesty of purpose, purity and strength of effort, and goodness of character. History has thus much of the influence of travel, which carries a man into new society, new scenes, different manners and customs, and shows him what diversities of forms the same human nature can put on. History may test our temper and disposition as well as travel; and thus, without leaving our homes, we may be able to obtain the moral benefits of wise travel.

And surely it seems to me that to be able to bring into one common point of view the phenomena of various religious parties—to see their characteristic working, and to behold, in all this, new evidences of the vitality of the religious sentiment and the supremacy of religious convictions, must enlarge our charity and help to the possession of a true and noble spirit of discipleship. A disinclination to engage in this labor is often a proof of contractedness of mind; of an unwillingness to see evidences for thinking better of those who differ from us. With some it is an evidence of a want of real faith in what they profess to believe—a shrinking from examination—an unworthy leaning upon others—a willingness to be reduced to a mere echo; and, like a parrot, they repeat what they have been taught, without any self-use of what has been given them. They utterly deprive themselves of all means of attaining to one of the best exercises of the mind—the ability to draw inferences from an author's statements, which the author never dreamed of, and by which he is many times confuted by his own pages. With this power a man may become as a bee, finding honey where spiders are at work for only poison, and he may hive up sweets where the other laborers have no such end in view. Thus he may solve Samson's riddle,—"Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." How severe is the retribution visited on the man who gives up his mind to others, and deprives himself of all true self-energy, following the traditions of men, while those traditions make him transgress *the commandments* of God!

Church History has been discarded because it deals so much in disputes, controversies, quarrels, bitterness; and when the field is looked upon, it appears but a mass of confusion. But is it not the same with a glance at any form of history? Has not the State its martyrs, its battles, its confusion, as well as the church? Science, philosophy, art,—what is the history of either of these but confusion when glanced at; but how interesting and instructive when approached wisely! When we come to matters of principle—when we see from what trivial things the grandest questions have arisen—when we behold how magnificent small things become by reason of the consequences they enfold—when we witness the struggles of brave and good men, in the spirit of lofty self-denial for the freedom of the soul, and how a good cause may clothe the humblest man with a majesty no king or potentate ever knew, history becomes order—out of chaos rises harmony, as where all dark and mourningly lies the ocean till the moon rises and changes the whole scene.

The dry and unattractive manner in which Church History has been presented has kept its importance from the people. Too much has the notion been taken for granted, that religion must necessarily be dull, and hence with all the dramatic elements of any history, the most stirring and momentous annals of mankind have been narrated in the most lifeless manner. The vividness of general impressions depends on the use of the pictorial faculty by the speaker or writer—hence the vindication of our Lord's manner of instruction so abounding with this power that it is said, Without a parable—a story, a picture—spake he not unto the people. However much it may be true that ecclesiastical events are dislocated, isolated, having no unity, "yet," says James Martineau, "there are portions containing elements for strong impression; there are persecutions, and councils, and crusades; there are broad contrasts of idolatrous civilization and a barbarous christianity, of the genius of Rome and the spirit of Christ, of the religion of the East and the philosophy of the West; there are matchless heroes of conscience in the Alpine fastnesses, and intrepid reformers in the cities of Germany; and there is no reason why the power of these passages should be abandoned to the province of fiction."

This is wisely said; and are we aware what grand elements are given to the fictionist by the facts which lie so cold and dead on the page of Church History? There is always a loss of moral effect when the dry details of events make the mind revolt at the madness of zeal and the inhuman butchery of man by man for religious differences, when, by another treatment, the soul might also be fired to noble daring by the magnanimity of the martyr and the divine ends for which he dies.

But no dryness of narrative can prevent a true soul from perceiving the truly picturesque and the sublime in religious action and character. Where the historian is profuse with his anathemas—where he hides every trait of heroism, as he thinks, and denies to a character any quality of Christian conduct, the heart which sympathizes with the sufferer sees his face shining like that of Stephen, and stands before the spectacle of his martyrdom as before the truly sublime. He does not ask for prompting *where* to applaud. He remembers who came to minister to Jesus while fierce bands were approaching Gethsamane to bear him to the mock trial and the cross. And from the very reasons which the historian offers why it was right that the martyr should die, he draws reasons for canonizing him as a saint of Christ's ever-enduring church of truth.

Church History has its claims upon us in that it is the history of man's loftiest action—the expression of his crowning power. It is the history of the most powerful workings of human nature. What is most startling, most awful, most glorious, stands out in these annals. Tears and smiles are alternately demanded by the recital; and it is most curious to perceive how matters the most ludicrous and the most reverential may be found springing from the same element of religious zeal—a childlike sportiveness and simplicity followed, or accompanied, with the mightiest thought and the most transcendant moral energy.

Church History, as we look into it, presents us the best forms of the mightiest power of man. Christianity brought new forces for and from the human soul. Its story begins at the downfall of ancient civilization, and therefore it is connected with the rise and progress of the new forms of

society. Christianity fostered every principle that had an essential moral life and by which mind had been educated in the past. It has shown sympathy for all intelligence, purity, love. It has been the patron of the intellect the life-guard of the affections. It came to afford a test by which whatever was educative in Judaism or philosophy might be selected from the transient; and it poured, by the life of Christ, a new spiritual force into the heart of mankind, by which it was made capable of better things than before. The reception of that life, the uneclipsed place given to it, was a grand tribute to the goodness, the rectitude, of human nature. If the rejection of Christ proved depravity, the reception of him equally proved goodness; and Christ's place in history shows that the heart of man is never utterly insensible to the appeal of genuine and perfect virtue.

And not alone by books are these things to be proved. Christianity has not only its books, but its monuments; and these show to what new forces it gave birth—what institutions it has originated. Many of the wild vagaries over which we mourn in the history of the church are really testimonials to the character of Christianity. The ascetic, far removed from society, living in complete isolation, went there, at first, from no deadness of social sympathy, but from quickness of conscience. He could not live in society without breathing tainted air; and to carry out, as he thought, the Scripture, "touch not, taste not, handle not," he must fly to solitude, and live with nature, that he might live with nature's God. And though there are uncounted instances where love of self, and a desire to exalt self, have made men ascetics and victims of self-crucifixion in most repulsive forms, yet there are beautiful passages in the history of asceticism, where solitude, the mountain cave, or the desert place, has been made attractive from the trust that its atmosphere, uncontaminated with sin, would permit a more intimate communion with the Deity, whereby the soul would find, "in after-life, soul-strengthening patience and sublime content." How interesting and instructive must it be to see the incoming of a power, from the more expanded truth, by which these and like errors are corrected, and man is made to remember that Jesus prayed the Father not to take his

disciples out of the world, where they were needed as light, leaven, salt, but to keep them from the evil; thus showing it is possible to serve the world without partaking of its sins.

And when we follow asceticism from its native place in the East to its adopted home in the West, we see most forcibly how institutions are changed or modified by the genius of a people or country. Among the people of the West, asceticism became an influence for union, rather than isolation; though still it was a refuge from the world which was felt to be too close, too powerful, for the perfection of virtue. Instead of a calm, meditative, silent life, we now find in the monasteries the activity of teaching and discussion, and from thence went forth new ideas, bold speculations, inviting the mind into the most intricate and yet practical domains of thought. Power was built up here that seemed to stand between church and state; and when the man was needed for reform, that the energies of these centres of power might be made useful to the church, Benedict came; and around his name gathers absorbing historical interest, as we trace his influence through his times and see it operating in the church of the middle ages.

What is Church History but a continuation of the story of that battle to whose first onsets the New Testament introduces us? How we all long to go on with the history of Paul, so abruptly dropped by the "beloved physician," his companion and friend! But we *can* follow the history of that truth for which Paul went to Rome, and for which he probably there died a martyr. Is it not good to be able to see him reproduced, as John the Baptist reproduced Elijah? And what, in all the annals of humanity, can be more worthy of our attention than to see the greatness of the work which Paul commenced—how he broke down all sacerdotal barriers between God and the soul—made the grand truth apparent, that when a soul is born to God in Christ, he becomes a king and priest—all that is royal and priestly is given to him, and treading up the ladder which Christ has placed for a Christian Jacob, he may ask no man's leave, no bishop's consecration, no steadying of church, or council, or assembly.

Here lies the special argument of appeal to us of the liberal church. An appeal to history is a fortunate thing for our faith. As we travel along in our pilgrimage through the past to the Holy Land of "the truth as it is in Jesus," the lights on the cathedral altars, the beacons from feudal towers, the glare of the torches of this procession of monks and that, the flames of the martyr's pile, the burning of Rome, the awful conflagration of the Temple of Jerusalem, do but light us along to "the simplicity that is in Christ," and which we devoutly receive as that which God "hath made unto us wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption."

Church History shows the origin of the Trinity in the philosophy introduced after the age of the Apostles; and we can trace the increase of that dogma as we can trace the progress of any misfortune which comes from pride of learning and thirst for dominion. So with the doctrine of native, total depravity, and its concomitant, vicarious atonement. So also we can trace the introduction of the barbaric notion of endless punishment; and it is not uninstructive to see how these dogmas have been affected, and softened, and defined away, by a growing intelligence and humanity.

How strikingly favorable to the supports of our tolerant faith, is the evidence of history against the utility of creeds, by which it is seen that they are without Scripture warrant, having been unknown to the primitive church; that they were the invention of a barbarous age, with the idea of bringing the infinite into a few intellectual propositions; that they have been the instruments of ambition, a snare for souls, an obstacle to freedom of thought; and, designed at first rather as a declaration of war within the church, than as an expression of the faith of the church itself. They have inevitably put a power between the Bible and the soul; they have usurped the place of the spirit of truth that has been promised to guide into all truth. The creed-maker is an idol-maker; and without the thing he has made for the poor cripple to lean upon, the cry is like that of old, "They have taken away my gods, and what have I more?" History abounds with evidences that the making of creeds to preserve the unity of the church, has been only like the

Philistines sporting with Samson—the power they have tried to confine has destroyed them. They have attempted to check the irrepressible, to limit the infinite, to make a cage for the lark-like soul to sing in, when God made it for the free, boundless air, to hail with its music the morning, in joy for the day.

How evident is the proof that it becomes the liberal church, in this age of revived interest in history, to be acquainted with the leading events, men, and opinions of the past of the church. We shall see by this how indestructible is the religious sentiment, what forms of power it puts on, and what are its best and noblest manifestations. How it is chained and smothered by the inventions and traditions of men—how its simplicity is hidden in monkish disguises and in imperial shows—how it is made an instrument of ambition, and the red flame of war takes the place of the dove as its symbol, will be shown us, to exalt our conception of the completeness of our freedom from the narrowness transmitted from a barbarous age. And with what thankfulness should we see that in the first three centuries of the church there was the most liberality of opinion, because the most freedom of inquiry and allowable latitude of speculation. And how significant is the fact that it is to Origen, who was the eloquent expounder of universal redemption, that we owe the spirit of liberty in the church for his own and the subsequent centuries. "The fame of this Father was great in the East," says Dr. Lamson, "and the influence of his name and writings secured the existence of freedom of thought and speculation in the church, long after it would otherwise have become extinct. With the decline of his school in the East, and the triumph of the Anastasians and Augustinians in the West, all liberty of opinion died out, and the world was reduced to a state of spiritual bondage, from which it is yet but partially emancipated."

Let us be willing and eager to see the arguments of history for being interested in helping on the completeness of this emancipation. Every plant, which our heavenly Father hath not planted *shall* be rooted up; but while the roots of those plants still continue in the church, drinking life from the soul of man, we must be, more or less, affected by the poisonous fruit. A few seeds strown

on the soil of land far from us, may be productive of a growth of weeds which shall travel year by year nearer to us; and only by interest in that which is remote, can we prevent the evil from infecting our home. For any soul to labor in the uprooting of error is to be a fellow-worker with God. To this labor we are called. Happy those who are faithful to it, for thus it may be given them from many a soul to pluck the weeds of error, and to "plant the rose of Sharon there." H. B—N.

Art. XIX.

The First of Genesis.

The book of Genesis seems naturally resolvable into three grand divisions. The first commences with the book, "In the beginning," and ends with the third verse of the second chapter, at the close of the seventh day. The second division begins with the fourth verse of the second chapter, "These are the generations," and embraces the remainder of that chapter and the whole of the third, ending with the expulsion from Eden. The third of these divisions, admitting of several subdivisions, begins with the fourth chapter, and extends thence onward quite through the book.

Unlike the modern divisions of the Bible, known as chapters and verses, and which seem for the most part, to have been inserted in an arbitrary manner, often as if by chance, the three divisions just described are obviously natural ones, there being at those points a manifest transition from one branch of the subject to an other. And that these divisions were recognized by the writer himself, is apparent from the fact that exactly at these points he makes a manifestly intended change in the divine appellation. Thus, in the first division, the name of the Creator is always "God;" in the second it is mostly "the Lord

God," but sometimes as in the first; in the third it is usually "the Lord," but occasionally as in the first or second.

I conceive that in general the first division of Genesis has not been fully understood by either the friends or the enemies of divine revelation. I take the ground that the account presented by Moses respecting the creation, the fashioning, the furnishing, and the peopling of the earth, ought to be urged in proof, rather than in disproof, that he was divinely inspired. The Mosaic account has been stigmatized as unnatural, unreasonable, unphilosophical, absurd, inconsistent, and, of course, incredible; yet I deem that it can be conclusively shown that, let the account have come from what source it may, it is perfectly natural, reasonable, philosophical, consistent with itself, in accordance with facts, and, of course, every way worthy of belief.

Moses professes to give a description of circumstances and events anterior to the creation of man; and Christians, as well as Jews, believe he received his information either directly or indirectly from the Creator himself. To such, it is an interesting question, by what method of instruction such information was imparted. And though from the nature of the case it may well be suspected that we can not now know with certainty what the true answer to this question actually is, I beg leave to suggest this as a highly probably theory: that in the first division of Genesis, with perhaps two or three exceptions, the first verse for example, what he narrates was shown to him in a *vision*, or in a series of visions; and that he describes things and events as they would have appeared to an observer on or near the surface of the earth at the several periods of which he speaks.

My design in this article is principally to sketch some of the outlines of an exposition of the first division of Genesis, as above described. That part therefore of the book, if the reader is not already quite familiar with it, he might perhaps profitably now peruse, as but a small part of the text will be herein given. It may also not be amiss for me to acknowledge here, that I am by no means "skilled in Hebrew."

(Chap. i. 1.) *In the beginning.* This expression is

perfectly indefinite in respect to date, and was doubtless designed so to be. The revelation made to Moses seems not to have shown how long the heaven or even the earth had been in existence. It is plainly enough taught that the origin of both is to be ascribed to God, they having been created by Him in the beginning; but as to the exact time when the beginning was, we are not informed.

God created. It is worthy of note here that Moses says not a word respecting what the heaven and the earth were created out of. Was, or was not, the world made of nothing? Is, or is not, matter eternal? Decide these questions as you may, the credibility of Moses's account will not be impeached thereby.

The heaven and the earth. The heaven is literally the *space* occupied by the heavenly bodies; but it is obvious that Moses's meaning here is not that God then created space; for he couples the heaven with the earth as though the two were in some respects specifically analogous to each other. Besides, it is at least questionable whether mere space is really an object of creation, its non-existence being not so easily conceived. I deem that "the heaven," as here used, is, by a metonymy, put for the orbs contained in the heaven—a figure of speech to be met with in all writings. These are described, in verse 16, to have been the sun, moon, and stars; and the creation of these, as well as of the earth, I suppose to be affirmed in Gen. i. 1. But to me, Moses does not affirm that the universe of worlds was created, all of them, at the particular time the earth was; his affirmation, as I understand it, amounts merely to this, that the universe of worlds had its origin in being created by God.

Until within a few years, both the friends and the enemies of the Bible have generally agreed that, according to Moses's account of the creation, the heavenly bodies were produced on the fourth day; hence that, according to the Scriptures, there were natural day and night upon the earth before sun, moon, and stars were created. I however affirm, that no one has really learned from the book of Genesis that these bodies were not in existence before the fourth day. What is actually taught, is, that they were not in the *firmament* till then. Thus we read, in verse 14 of this chapter, "And God said, Let there be

lights in the firmament of the heaven;" which firmament, at the first, as we learn from verses 6 and 7, had waters under it, and waters above it, that is to say, the ocean and the clouds. I know no good reason for supposing that Moses thought the sun was not then in the heaven; but it could not then have been in "the firmament of the heaven," unless it was actually *below the clouds;* for the firmament, or visible expanse over head, extended upward only to the clouds. Now suppose the clouds to have been removed from the atmosphere, would not the apparent concave above have so extended itself as to take in the heavenly bodies? And would they not then be in the firmament?

The way it has happened that readers of the Bible have so very generally supposed that according to it the sun, moon, and stars, were created on the fourth day, is doubtless thus: Moses, in the commencement of his account, uses "the heaven" for the orbs contained in the heaven, and delays specifying what the heaven contained, until he comes to speak of its contents as being in the firmament, that is, in sight. Our translators then make him say, "And God made two great lights," &c.; and his thus saying, *in that place*, has been taken for saying that He made them at that time. But may not this be rendered "Now God *had* made," &c.

(2.) *And the earth was without form and void.* That is to say, unformed, a shapeless mass, and empty or unfurnished, visibly destitute of inhabitants.

And darkness was upon the face of the deep,—or abyss; that is, upon the place or surface of the then unshapely and unfurnished earth. It is not probable that at this period the atmosphere was destitute of the property of transparency; but that it was so loaded with vapors that the light of the sun had never penetrated to the surface of the more solid parts of the earth; which surface, as we learn from what follows, was water, perhaps in a heated state. The remark that darkness was upon the face of the deep, seems an intimation that somewhere else was light. If he had intended to be understood that darkness, at that time, shrouded the entire universe, would he have said that it rested upon a particular part thereof? Observe also, he is describing the condition, not of the heaven but of the earth.

And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. By the face of the waters, here, is meant the same as is meant in the preceding sentence by the face of the deep; unless, which is perhaps probable, the formation of water took place subsequently to the prevalence of that state of things expressed by "the deep." In either case both expressions seem to have reference solely to the condition of the earth. What is said about the moving of God's spirit, belongs not to the description of that state of things which then prevailed, but should be read in connection with what follows:

(3.) *And God said, Let there be light.* That is, on the earth's surface.

And there was light. The quantity of opaque substances in the atmosphere became so much diminished that the light of the sun penetrating the remainder, now reached the surface of the earth for the first time.

(4.) *And God divided the light from the darkness.* The sun's light now reaching the earth's surface on the side next the sun, the rotation of the earth upon its axis, which had probably been going on from the beginning, now caused its surface to be alternately enlightened and darkened, as at present.

(5.) *And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night.* That is, when the surface of the earth was enlightened, it was day; when it was darkened it was night. This succession of day and night is strong presumptive evidence that the sun was then in existence, and was moreover a luminous body; for if we suppose that at the first the earth was illuminated by some accumulation of light within our atmosphere, we must also suppose, what is quite improbable, that the light appeared and disappeared in so regular a manner, forming so exact representations of day and night, that even the Creator himself bestowed upon such representations the names designed for the things represented.

And the evening and the morning were the first day. The literal rendering of this, as given in the *margin*, is, "And the evening was, and the morning was, &c." Perhaps the sense of the passage really is, that the evening *commenced*, and the morning *continued*, the first day; and so of the others. But whatever may be thought of this,

there would seem to be no necessity of supposing the six days of creation to be periods of just twenty-four hours each. The term day, in common speech, often denotes a considerable space of time. Who has not heard this scripture quoted, "Behold now is the day of salvation?" —a day which is supposed to include the past, present and future, of the entire Christian dispensation, so called.

By the first day I understand that period of time, longer or shorter, embraced in Moses's *first view* of the earth and its changes; and so of the second, the third, and the other days respectively. To my mind the language of Moses himself is quite sufficient to decide whether the seven days he mentions are just equal to an ordinary week. In chap. ii. 4, 5, we read, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, *in the day* that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew." What is said in the first chapter to have taken three days to accomplish, if not also some unreckoned time between the first day and the beginning, is, in this place, spoken of as having been all accomplished in *one* day. Now if in the first chapter, Moses meant, and expected to be understood, that so much as was done up to the period when vegetation was produced was accomplished in neither more nor less time than three days of twenty-four hours each—Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday—it seems quite incredible that in the very first sentence after finishing his account of what transpired in the whole seven days, ending on Saturday at sunset, he should speak of the first three days' works as only one. But understand, by a day here, a portion of time indeterminate as to its length, and the language of Moses is perfectly consistent; for many indefinite periods, taken together, may be properly mentioned as one such, the whole being still an indefinite period.

(6.) *And God said, Let there be a firmament*, or an "expansion," as we read in the margin. A region of clear air.—*In the midst of the waters.* At this period it would seem that the vapor in the atmosphere touched the surface of the water all over the earth.—*And let it divide the waters from the waters.* The ocean from the clouds.

(7.) *And God made the firmament*, &c. Caused the vapors to ascend from the surface of the water, so as to leave an expanse of clear air surrounding the earth between the ocean and the clouds.

(8.) *And God called the firmament heaven.* Perhaps for the reason that although the firmament at that period extended upward but a little distance, being overhung by the under surface of the clouds, it was destined by the subsequent removal of those clouds to extend itself even beyond the atmosphere, and far into the regions occupied by the heavenly bodies.

(9.) *And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear.* Let a considerable portion of the earth's surface beneath the universal ocean be somewhat depressed; thus causing the waters surrounding the depression to run into it, leaving the other parts bare of water.—*And it was so.* A chasm having been formed beneath the earth's crust, probably by the process of cooling and shrinking, a great part of the crust broke suddenly down, by its own weight and that of the superincumbent waters. The parts nearest the depression remained at nearly their former elevation; but in the more distant parts, the reaction of the fluid mass beneath raised up the crust into ridges, as on the top of gigantic waves. Some of these ridges becoming fixed, formed the mountain chains; and thus was the earth divided into land and water. It is proper to observe here, that the sinking of the earth's surface in some parts, and its rising in others, would necessarily disturb the equilibrium of the atmosphere, and produce unwonted commotion in the clouds. And the mere making of the earth into a terraqueous body would obviously occasion inequalities of temperature; and these would give rise to aerial currents, or winds; and from all these it would certainly follow that the vapors in the atmosphere, denominated by Moses "the waters above the firmament," would at length be precipitated from the atmosphere, in the form of *rain*. It is not likely, however, that rain in any great quantities was produced immediately, especially over "the dry land." Volcanic fires must have issued through the broken strata in innumerable places, building up thousands of mountain peaks, and heating the atmosphere

to such a degree and so generally, that rain could not then have been formed, except at very great heights, and when thus formed must of course have been liable to be vaporized again before it could reach the earth. During this period vast quantities of vapor must have been exhaled from the moist earth in the day time, or whenever the air was warmest; and been condensed into dew at night, or whenever the air became more cool. And this is just what we are told by Moses, in chap. ii. 5, 6; at the time the herbs and plants were made, "the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth;" and "there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." The saying that it had not rained up to the time when vegetation was produced, implies that it did rain afterwards, which as we have seen must actually have occurred soon after.

(14.) *And God said, Let there be lights,* or luminous bodies. Those here intended are the sun, moon, and stars, as specified in verse 16.—*In the firmament of the heaven.* Not simply in the heaven, nor simply in the firmament, but "in the firmament of the heaven." The heaven is properly the region of space occupied by the heavenly bodies; the firmament may import the same, or it may mean merely the atmosphere. To be in the firmament, is to be in sight, whether near or distant; to be in the heaven, is to be in a certain region of space, whether in sight or not; and to be in the firmament of heaven, is to be in the *visible* expanse of the sky. By the removal of the clouds from the atmosphere the sun, moon, and stars became visible. This view of the subject is confirmed by an expression in verse 20, where we read of the birds flying "above the earth, in the open firmament of heaven." Having had waters above it, the firmament had been, as it were *shut* by dense clouds; but after the heavenly bodies were revealed in it, it is described as being "open;" and what can this import if not the absence of the clouds?

To divide the day from the night. In verse 18, we have as an equivalent expression, "to divide the light from the darkness." It is worthy of note that in verse 4 of this chapter, as explained by verse 5, we are told of this very same division having been made on the first day, though

it is not there described as having any relation to the heavenly bodies. I am persuaded that Moses describes things as they would have appeared to an actual observer; and that the sense here is, that by means of the sun being generally visible in the day time, and the moon and stars at night, the change from night to day and from day to night, which had been going on ever since light first reached the earth's surface, was thereafter *seen* to be connected for the most part with the appearance and disappearance of those bodies respectively.

(16.) *And God made two great lights*, &c. This verse seems to be merely explanatory. The 14th and the 15th verses tell us what God willed respecting these lights; the 17th and 18th inform us that he did what he willed; the 16th verse, standing between, seems to have been thrown in as explanatory. The *time* in which God made those bodies, I deem to have been in the beginning; as I am told that the verb may, with equal propriety, be rendered, "had made."

(20.) *And God said, Let the waters bring forth*, &c. (24.) *And God said, Let the earth bring forth*, &c. Fishes and land animals are here willed, or commanded, to be, as it were, *born* of the ocean and earth. Parallel with these verses are the 11th and 12th, in which we read of the earth's bringing forth *grass*, &c. But we ought by no means to infer from this language, that the vegetables and animals came at first into existence in any other manner than by the direct act of creation. For, aside from other considerations, we read in verses 21, 25, as the accomplishment of his volition respecting the animals, that "God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth" in the waters; and that He "made the beast of the earth, . . . and cattle, . . . and every thing that creepeth upon the earth." And in chap. ii. 5, we are told that "the Lord God made . . . every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew." Yet when a race of beings was to be produced whose prerogative it should be to "subdue" the earth, and exercise dominion over the animals, it was not said, Let the earth bring forth man; but we read,

(26.) *And God said, Let us make man.* This seems to intimate man's superiority, which however is more defi-

nitely taught in what follows:—*In our image, after our likeness.* The idea here intended is doubtless the same as is embodied in the teaching of an apostle, that "we are the offspring of God." The correlative idea is presented in the affirmation that there is "one God and Father of all."

In scripture language generally, to be "the children of God," or to be "the sons of God," has reference to religious or moral character, or to what we may become by being imitators or "followers of God as dear children." Jesus therefore exhorts his disciples to love not merely their friends, but their enemies also, "that," says he, "ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven," that is, like him morally. But to be the offspring of God, or to bear his image, relates to what we are constitutionally, or by virtue of creation; it being true that "there is a spirit in man," since God is not only "a spirit," but "the Father of spirits," even "the God of the spirits of all flesh." Man thus having a spiritual nature, and destined to an eternal existence, in a state of immortality, is therefore said to be made in the image of God. But whether this view of the subject is correct or not, it is the doctrine of Moses that mankind *now*, as an apostle also expressly affirms, "are made after the similitude of God." For that which he tells us the Creator proposed to make in his own image, and did thus make or create, was not merely Adam, nor Adam and Eve, but *man*—the genus *homo*, the race.

(27.) *Male and female created he them.* Some persons search the Scriptures diligently, if not daily, for the very laudable purpose of hunting out discrepancies therein. And they find one, as they think, in Moses's account, inasmuch as he here states that the race was created male and female; yet in the second chapter he tells of a time when there was a man, but no woman! Let such consider, if they are capable of it, that an after-description of an event and a description of an after-event are sometimes quite two things. Moses first relates in general terms that God created man male and female, placing the former first. He afterwards relates certain circumstances attendant on the creation of the one, and certain other circumstances connected with the creation of the other; and states

definitely, what he had before intimated, that the man was created first; and also mentions the additional fact that some little time elapsed after the man was made before the woman was formed.

Again: Some can not reconcile, with the account of man's creation in the first chapter of Genesis, the statement in the second, that "there was not a man to till the ground." Now what Moses really affirms, is, that there was no man up to the time when God made the herbs and plants. And we learn from the first chapter that man was made after vegetation was created. Where, then, is the discrepancy?

Some writers insist very particularly upon the fact that in the first chapter man is said to have been *created*, and in the second, to have been *formed;* and they contend that the first has relation to the mind, or spirit, the second, to the bodily organization. Now, in the language of Moses, to create, and to make, are convertible expressions. Thus he informs us that God said, Let the waters bring forth fish; and then adds that God *created* them. He tells us that God said, Let the earth bring forth land animals; and then adds that God *made* them. He relates also, that God said, Let us *make* man; and then adds, So God *created* man. Moreover he says in chap. ii. 4, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were *created*, in the day that the Lord God *made* the earth and the heavens;" &c. To create, and to make, are, then, the same thing precisely.

(31.) *And the evening and the morning were the sixth day:* The period of time embraced in Moses's sixth view. So far as the production of living creatures is concerned, the work of creation by a *direct* process then ceased. The three verses following have very improperly been thrown into another chapter.

(Chap. ii. 1.) *Thus the heavens and the earth were finished.* They were created in the beginning; but the earth, at least, was not *finished* until the sixth day.

(2.) *And on the seventh day God ended his work*, &c. The sense intended, evidently is, that He *had* ended it. In chap. ii. 17, is also an instance of the imperfect tense for the preter-imperfect tense. We there read that the Creator "*formed* every beast of the field, &c., and brought

them to Adam;" which makes Moses *seem* to say the opposite of what he had said, that the animals were created *before* man. The true rendering then is, "*had* formed," &c. And it being a manifest fact that in these instances the preter-imperfect tense ought to have been used instead of the imperfect, is the statement incredible that chap. i. 16, ought to read, "Now God *had* made?" &c.

And he rested on that day. What is here meant by God's *resting*, is well expressed in Heb. iv. 11: "For he that is entered into his rest, he also *hath ceased from his own work*, as God did from his." That is, the Creator ceased from *direct* acts of creation. Note, *God's Sabbath, as respects the earth, continues yet.* Creation is still effected through the operation of the law of reproduction.

(3.) *And God blessed the seventh day.* Ordained that the seventh period of time should possess a distinguishing characteristic, analogous to a season of rest.—*And sanctified it.* Set it apart to the purpose above mentioned.

We have now seen that Moses, after stating the general fact that the universe of worlds owes its origin to having been created by God, presents a view of the earth in a chaotic state, destitute of symmetry, void of inhabitants, and unfurnished with any accommodations for inhabitants had they existed; and that he ends with describing it as the residence of *man*, and so fitted and furnished for his reception, as that he, by the aid of his intellectual and physical powers, is able to render it quite a convenient and desirable abode. Only some of the more prominent of the processes by which the earth was thus improved, are by him presented. The principal of these are the following:—

Water was formed, and covered the whole surface of the globe; but darkness rested upon its face, for the atmosphere had so much of an opaque substance floating in it that the light of the sun had never penetrated through it. The Creator willed, and light reached the earth's surface; and by the diurnal rotation of the earth, day and night succeeded each other in turn. Still the atmosphere contained an immense volume of vapor reaching quite down to the water all over the earth. He willed, and the vapor arose, leaving an expanse of clear air between the ocean and the clouds. The earth was now, as to its

surface, but one vast ocean. In due time, however, by the divine volition, the continents and islands appeared, and the ocean receded into somewhat smaller limits. And being thus made into a terraqueous body, its earthy parts were by the Divine power soon clothed with vegetation. Yet up to this time it had been constantly cloudy. Day and night had succeeded each other, but the cause of either was not apparent. The Creator willed, and by the disappearance of the clouds from the atmosphere, the sun, moon, and stars, became visible. And now the earth being sufficiently enlightened, and the waters of the ocean sufficiently cooled, the various aquatic tribes were produced; next, those which inhabit the air; next, land animals; and last of all, man, appointed to rule the whole.

In considering the character of Moses's account, that which strikes my mind as forcibly as any thing else, is its perfect *naturalness.* Had he presented the various events in any other order than he has, a want of consistency in his description would have been quite apparent. Thus, if his statement had been, that man was created before the animals, we should at once perceive an incongruity in man's having *dominion* granted him over what did not exist. Had he told us that the animals were produced before the plants and trees, we might have wondered what the *cattle* subsisted on in the absence of vegetation. Had he related that vegetables and trees were made before the dry land appeared, we might well wonder where they were *stored* until they could be planted. These examples are sufficient to illustrate the position that the order of events presented by Moses in his brief narration, is the exact order of nature.

In conclusion, I observe that Moses's description of the primeval condition of the earth, and of the changes it underwent before becoming the habitation of man, was written more than thirty centuries before geology was ever studied as a distinct science. Yet his account when properly understood, is sustained by geology in all essential particulars; yea, it may be added that it conflicts with neither natural philosophy nor astronomy. Now that he, at that period, should have been able to write such an account, is, to say the least, a truly remarkable

fact, and, to me, it is a proof that he actually received information on the subject from an authentic and perfectly reliable source—THE ALMIGHTY CREATOR HIMSELF.

J. L.

ART. XX.

The Unity of the Human Race.

I THINK it is commonly agreed that, so far as the Scriptures treat directly on the matter, they recognize the unity of the human race. The obvious doctrine of Moses, in Genesis, is, that all men sprang from one pair; St. Paul, at Athens, teaches that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth;" and this is the ground which is evidently pre-supposed by the rest of the inspired writers.

Some, however, have argued that Moses was inconsistent with himself; that although he teaches that Adam was the father of all nations, or the first man, and Eve the first woman, yet he indirectly recognizes Pre-Adamites. Where did Cain get his wife? Did he fear his parents would kill him? Did they need the mark set upon him to know him as a murderer? If Adam and Eve were the only persons living, who composed his city? These questions lead people to conclude that east of Eden, in the land of Nod (vagabond) there must have dwelt another race or people. Among them Cain found his wife; they were the men who composed his city, and whose vengeance he feared, because, forsooth, he had killed his brother. What I have to say in reply to this is chiefly negative. I do not know but that Cain took his wife with him from Eden to Nod,—that the mark on him was one forbidding his parents killing him, rather than one of recognition,—that he simply founded a city, or was the progenitor of a race to people it, rather than the builder or finisher of it. It is hard to look back through the dust of six thousand years and see precisely how the thing

was. I am not a prophet, nor clairvoyant. We may conjecture, guess, speculate, relative to these points, but what do we know? We know, however, that Moses, inspired or not, was vastly in advance of his age and nation; that Jesus Christ always spoke of Moses with respect; and that Paul based his doctrine concerning the specific unity of the race on what he taught.[1]

If it is not too great a stride, let us come from Moses down to the present time. Let us cast our eye over the earth and see the nations as they are. How different, intellectually, morally, religiously, as well as physically. In four respects do they differ physically, viz.: in the color of the skin, the structure of the hair, in the formation of the skull and of the pelvis. So strikingly do men differ physically, that Blumenbach and Cuvier arranged them under the five following races: 1. The Caucasian race,—of all colors, fair, florid, and dark,—so named because it was supposed that the Caucasian range of mountains was their centre. 2. the Mongolian race, of olive complexion, whose seat was the great central elevated plain of Asia. 3. The Ethiopian race, of deep black complexion, those in Africa south of the Atlas range. 4. The Malay or Oceanic race, a little darker than the Mongolians, the origin of which was a peninsula, but which inhabit a vast series of islands, scattered through the great

[1] The librarian of the Prince of Condé, Isaac Peyrere, accused Moses of teaching the creation of two species of man. Dr. Good replies: "A cautious perusal of the Mosaic narrative will, I think, incontestibly prove, that the two accounts of the creation of man refer to one and the same fact, to which the historian merely returns, in the seventh verse of the second chapter, for the purpose of giving it a more detailed consideration; for it is expressly asserted in the fifth, or preceeding verse but one, as the immediate reason for the creation of Adam and Eve, that at that time 'there was not a man to till the ground;' while as to the existence of artificers, competent to the formation of the first rude instruments of husbandry, and a few patches of mankind scattered over regions adjoining that in which Cain resided, at the period of his fratricide, it should be recollected that this first fall of man by the hand of man did not take place till one hundred and twenty-nine years after the creation of Adam; for it was in his one hundred and thirtieth year that Seth was given to him in the place of Abel; an interval of time sufficient, especially if we take into consideration the pecular fecundity of both animals and vegetables in their primeval state, for a multiplication of the race of man to many thousand souls."—*Book of Nature, Harpers' Ed., p.* 204.

ocean that stretches from Madagascar to Easter Island; and 5th, the iron-rust, copper-colored savages of America. Though these races are subdivided, and one race often shades off into the other, yet the aforesaid classification is very convenient. Look at each race at its centre, and there is no difficulty in distinguishing it from every other; but at the circumference of the circle the races blend.

Now the language, dress, manners, religious opinions, &c., which make the nations distinguishable, are of no consequence, in respect to our topic. They are acquired peculiarities. But when we come to the formation of their physical structure, we are told that it is not so easily accounted for. Says Professor Carpenter, (Human Physiology, p. 71), "It has been a favorite idea, among those who wish to excuse the horrors of slavery and the extirpation of savage tribes, that the races thus treated might be considered as inferior species, incapable of being raised by any treatment to our own elevation; and thus falling legitimately under the domination of superior races, just as the lower animals have been placed by the Creator in subservience to man. This doctrine, which had its origin in a desire to justify as expedient what could not be defended as morally right, finds no support from scientific inquiries conducted in an enlarged spirit." But Carpenter utters an opinion, not an oracle; and though his opinion is entitled to great weight, and he gives strong reasons for it, men of equal research have taken the other side of the question. A book has been lately compiled from the writings of Agassiz and other distinguished naturalists, who take that side. Moses, they inform us, gives a fair account of the origin of one race, but how shall we account for the origin of the other four? No doubt, the work is learned and able; but I cannot consider it otherwise than a scholar-like mistake. "Mankind is one," as Theodore Parker expresses it. Human nature is everywhere identical. Age, country, color, circumstance, condition—these modify the same element at the bottom. The races may be diverse, as my five fingers, but they are one as my hand is one.

But what reasons are there for believing that all men sprang from one parent stock? These: The average

period of life is every where the same; the period of embryonic life the same; all are subject to the same diseases, sporadic, contagious, and epidemic. Furthermore, the different races are of the same instincts; amid all diversities, we find all the faculties of mind, reason, imagination, memory, judgment; our language is traced back to a common root; all races have a sense of dependence; they love, hate, hope, fear, and have some idea of gods, or a God, and a Providence.

There is an argument in favor of the unity of the race, that carries conviction to my mind, deduced from the story of the Jews. Eighteen hundred years ago these were of one color, one form, and of one country. Their hair, skull, pelvis, &c., were as nearly alike—so naturalists tell us—as these parts are in any people. But how is it now? For eighteen centuries they have been scattered among the nations, a proverb and a byword. Persecuted people! Only Omniscience could reveal all the wrongs that have been heaped on them. Burned by the suns and fanned by the winds of all countries and climes, they have changed into as many colors as there are different races. Among the whites, they are white; among the blacks they are black; and so of all intermediate hues. Their hair has changed, the skull, the pelvis. This one fact, in my mind, settles the question, that the physical variations come, not because the races sprang from different progenitors, but because of different habits and climes.

Let us look especially at our difference of color, simply as a physiologist would view the matter. The skin of man is composed of three layers of membrane: the epidermis tissue, (that portion which is raised in case of a blister), the true skin, (*cutis vera*), and the epitheleum. Now mingled with the epidermic cells we find pigment-cells, the function of which is to secrete the paint,[2] (*rite mucosum*), that gives the hue to different races of men.[3] Let me quote Professor Carpenter again. (p. 133, &c.):

[2] Under some circumstances, this pigment becomes irregular in its secretion. Hence, it is not uncommon to see females, that are usually very light, the color of iron rust during gestation. Hence, also from causes that physiologists explain, there are white Negroes, spotted Negroes, and Europeans with black patches of skin.

[3] Perhaps I ought to add, that in warm countries, the liver is excited to a more abundant secretion of bile than in colder ones, and that this

"It cannot be doubted that the development of the pigment-cells of the skin is very much influenced by the action of light; and in this respect there is a remarkable correspondence between animals and plants—the coloration of the latter, as is well known, being entirely due to that agent. Thus, it is a matter of familiar experience, that the influence of light upon the skin of many individuals, causes it to become spotted with brown freckles; these freckles being aggregations of brown pigment-cells, which either owe their development to the stimulus of light, or are enabled by its agency to perform a decided chemical transformation which they could not otherwise effect. In like manner the swarthy hue, which many Europeans acquire beneath exposure to tropical climates, is due to the development of many dark pigment-cells, and to this we usually find the greatest disposition in individuals or races that are already of somewhat dark complexion. The deep blackness of the Negro skin seems dependent upon nothing else than a similar cause, operating through successive generations. It is well known that the new-born infants of the Negro and other dark races, do not exhibit nearly the same depth of color in their skins, as that which they present after the lapse of a few days, when light has had time to exert influence upon their surface, and further, that in those individuals who keep themselves during life most secluded from its influence, we observe the lightest hue of the epidermis. Thus among the intropical nations, the families of chiefs, which are not exposed to the sun in the same degree with the common people, almost always present a lighter hue; and in some of the islands of the Polynesian Archipelago, bordering on the equator, they are not darker than the inhabitants of southern Europe."

Thus much from Carpenter. The quotation made from him throws some "light" on our subject. What men have long contended for, it fully proves, viz.: that a change of climate has much to do with the color of the skin; that the action of light, by some means, developes

has its influence in giving a deeper tinge to the skin. It is supposed that the calorific rays of the sun stimulate that gland to greater action. If *that* gland, why not the other glands of the human organism? For, if I mistake not, the function of all of them is nearly the same.

the pigment that makes the African black, the Mongolian olive-hued, the North American savage copper-colored.[4] Our color is confined to the surface merely, and, therefore, the argument against the specific unity of the race, on the ground of hue, as Dr. Good remarks, is only "skin deep."

Hair and nails, as well as the hoofs and horns of animals, are developed like the epidermis, from the subjacent membrane, and therefore the same causes that affect the skin would affect the color of the hair. The texture of the hair is everywhere the same. It may be straight like the Indian's, or wooly like the Negro's, but microscopic examination clearly demonstrates that the common notion, that the substance which grows on the head of dark-colored tribes is wool, is altogether a mistake. It bears no resemblance to wool, save in its crispiness and tendency to curl.

If phrenology be true, (although against some of its teachings there are powerful arguments), mental culture has much to do with the formation of the skull; and even the pelvis, limbs, abdomen and thorax, vary with corresponding degrees of civilization. Long ages of starvation, nakedness, ignorance and abuse, tend powerfully to reduce the physical man, in almost every respect. Under these influences, the limbs become lank and irregular; the belly projects; the forehead retreats; the nose flattens; the teeth and cheek bones become prominent, and mental and moral degradation correspond. The story of the Australians proves this; or, more to the point, the miserable Bushmen in South Africa. The latter wander in forests; sleep in dens and caves of the earth; eat snakes, lizards, roots; take no pains to wash or cook their food; and their language is a "gutteral grunt." Originally they were a decent kind of people; now they are not considered worth enslaving even. But place these Bushmen under the influences of civilization, give them wholesome nutriment and mental and moral culture for a few generations, and the general form of the body would change.

[4] The tree-frog, kept in the shade, becomes a light yellow; exposed to the sun, he turns to a dark green. The *nercis lucustris*, (I do not know the common name), is whitish in the shade, but turns red on being exposed to the sun.

On this subject I will make two more quotations from Prof. Carpenter:—

"The analogical argument derived from the phenomena presented by the domesticated species among the lower animals, is decidely in favor of the specific unity of the human race; the differences which have sprung up, in course of time, amongst the inhabitants of different parts of the world, being such as we have a fair right to attribute, according to the recognized principles of zoölogy, to the modifying influence of external conditions, acting upon a constitution peculiarly disposed to yield to it." (p. 76.)

That is, domesticated animals, *known* to have had a common ancestry, vary as extremely as the human race. This is true of dogs especially. And the differences which present themselves among these domesticated animals, are of the same *kind* as those that present themselves among the different races of men. They vary, too, with climate and country. The blood-hound in Spain was one thing, but introduced into the West Indies, in about three hundred years it degenerated into a wild race of a different form. The hog, in the same country, in a domesticated state, had various colors; but brought to our western shores, and left to run wild, it becomes uniform in color, its head elongated, and its bristles gave place to an apparent (or real) species of fur. As great changes have taken place in the horse, ass, ox, sheep, goat, dogs, birds, &c., carried to South America and the West Indies, three and a half centuries ago, by the Spaniards.

Pass, if you please, from the lower types of animal organization, over into the vegetable kingdom. Vegetables change with the climate. Naturalists inform us that apples, pears, plums, variable as they are in taste, form and color, sprang from the same seedling originally; and that the same is true of the cow-slip, ox-slip, primrose and polyanthus. Go into the granary of the husbandman, and look among his Indian corn. The most of it may be yellow or white. But occasionally you will find a red ear, a blue ear, a black ear, &c. The shape of the kernels, too, differs as much as the skulls of men belonging to different races. The facial angle, that is if we measure according to the method of Camper, varies in

man but ten degrees,—70° in the Negro, 80° in the European,[5]—and in no respect does the shape of the head vary more. Is there not a vastly wider difference between a kernel of rice-corn, for example, and the form of an old fashioned kernel of yellow corn? And if all our variously colored and shaped maize, sprang from one primal seedling, does not analogy teach, that the variously colored and shaped men that go to make up the five races, might have sprung from one original pair? And was St. Paul out of the way in affirming before the Athenians that we are all of one blood?

Prof. Carpenter says: "The most important physiological test of specific unity or diversity, is derived from the phenomena attending the reproductive process. It is well known that in plants, the stigma of the flower of one species may be fertilized with the pollen of an allied species; and that from the seeds produced, plants of an intermediate character may be raised. These *hybrid* plants, however, will not perpetuate the new race; for, although they may ripen their seed for one or two generations, they will not continue to produce themselves beyond a third or fourth. But if the intervention of one of the parent species be employed—its stigma being fertilized by the pollen of the hybrid, or *vice versa*—a mixed race may be kept up some time longer, but it will then have a manifest tendency to return to the form of the parent whose intervention has been employed. Where, on the other hand, the parents themselves were only *varieties*, the hybrid forms are but another variety, and its powers of reproduction are rather increased than diminished; so that it may continue to propagate its own race *ad infinitum*. In this way, many beautiful new varieties of garden flowers have been obtained; especially among such species as have a natural tendency to change their aspect. Amongst animals, the limits of hybridity are much more

[5] In the adult Campanzee 35°; in the Orang 30°; for though as high as 60° in some new-born apes, the jaws are made to project wonderfully at the time of second dentition. These higher monkey tribes differ from man in other important particulars. They have three less vertebræ than a human being; they have a peculiar pouch connected with the larynx that belongs not to the human species, also less perfect feet. These dissimularities are not found among the *varieties* of men; we meet with them only by stepping down among a lower *species*.

narrow, since the hybrid is totally unable to continue its race with one of its own kind; and although it may be fertile with one of its parent species, the progeny will, of course approach in character to the pure breed, and the race will ultimately merge into it. On the other hand, in animals as among plants, the mixed offsprings originating from different races within the limits of the same species, generally exceed in vigor, and in the tendency to multiply, the parent races from which they are produced, so as to gain ground upon the older varieties, and gradually to supercede them. In this manner, by the *crossing* of the breeds of our domesticated animals, many new and superior varieties have been produced. The general principle is, then, that beings of distinct species, or descendants from stocks originally different, cannot produce a mixed race which shall posses the capability of perpetuating itself; whilst the union of *varieties* has a tendency to produce a race superior in energy and fertility to its parents.

"The application of this principle (if it be admitted as such) to the human races leaves no doubt with respect to their specific unity; for, it is well known, not only do all the races of men breed freely with each other, but the mixed race is generally superior in physical development, and in tendency to rapid multiplication, to either of the parent stocks; so that there is much reason to believe that, in many countries, the mixed race between the Aborigines and European colonizers will untimately become the dominant power in the community. This is specially the case in India and South America."[6] (p. 77.)

Such is the test, furnished by Carpenter, derived from the phenomena of the reproductive process. And he has given us one of a *psychological* character equally as conclusive, though I have not space to quote it.

I regret the attempts of scientific men to unsettle our faith in the doctrine of the unity of the race. So far as

[6] When located at Richmond, Va., the writer heard this doctrine boldly denied. It was there contended that the mulatto, or the offspring of a European father and Indian mother, (or *vice versa*), could not perpetuate his species, with his own kind, beyond the fifth or seventh generation. I have more faith, however, in the affirmation of Carpenter, than in the opinions of uneducated men, who are anxious to justify slavery.

such attempts take effect, I think it evident, notwithstanding all that may be pleaded to the contrary, that they impair the public confidence in the record of Inspiration, and rather nourish the skeptical tendencies of our time. I do not say that the doctrine is so intrinsically inwoven in the revealed system of the Bible, that an explosion of it would necessarily be the destruction of all Christian faith. But it is easy to see *whose* sympathies are the most strongly engaged in its preservation, and *whose* in its rejection. Obviously the skeptical, and the skeptically-inclined are, generally speaking, the ones who are gratified by the appearance of pleas and allegations that go to make out different origins of mankind. Have the pleas and allegations of this kind, which have been hitherto advanced, rested on any ground sufficiently broad and firm to support so unnatural a conclusion? It is not only the doubters of revelation who seem to take an interest in the attempts to disprove the unity of our race; the defenders of slavery join with them in this one point, and appear to regard it as a "god-send," when a scientific man gives them an argument against the truth that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." But until clearer proof is produced than we have yet seen, we shall "let God be true, but every man a liar."

W. N. B.

Art XXI.

The Righteous and the Wicked.

In various terms of opposition, the Scriptures speak of two widely differing states, which are denominated righteousness, justification, life, light, on the one hand; and sin, wickedness, condemnation, darkness, death, upon the other. Since the Scriptures are built on the idea of the opposition of these states, and since the terms chosen to characterize them are borrowed from the strongest contrasts of nature, such as light and darkness, life and

death, we seem led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the states themselves present the marks of a wide and manifest separation. For that style must be violent and distempered, which uses the terms of extreme opposition to describe simple gradations. And as we cannot believe that the language of the New Testament is so illy chosen, we are left only the conclusion that the two states mentioned mark, not gradations, but contrasts. The line between them may be narrower than that which anciently divided England from Scotland, but yet no man can stand with one foot in each of these two kingdoms, as some used to boast of having spanned the Tweed, but must be wholly in one or the other. We cannot either, in this matter, confine ourselves to the abstract idea of states, or conditions, as impersonal matters. These states, or conditions, are embodied, they become incarnate, they appear as characteristics of men; and men are known as righteous or wicked, godly or ungodly, alive or dead, sons of God or children of the devil, according as the characteristics of one or the other of these states appear in them. There are then, these two classes of men, the righteous, and the wicked, separated from each other by distinct lines. No intermediate standing-place, no neutrality, no compromise is provided for, either by the terminology or the spirit of the sacred Scriptures. Among the righteous, or among the wicked, every living man must be classed. This can be avoided only by evading one of the fundamental doctrines of the Bible. "They that are in the flesh cannot please God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit; if so be that the spirit of God dwell in you." Rom. viii. 8, 9. It is our purpose to trace that dividing line which separates these two classes.

But here we shall be met with the question, whether any such line really exists. It will be argued that in regard to religion, a state of things exists, similar to that which we find in respect to color. Every one admits that there are black men and white men, yet if you arrange all the men in the world in one vast line placing the whitest man on the right, and the blackest man on the left, any one would admit the opposition of color in the extremes; but who in passing along the line, could say where the division should be made, that should sunder white from

black. No one could find it. The parallel, it will be argued, holds in the case we are considering. But is not this a fallacious view; and is not the case we are considering similar to that concerning right and wrong, when the mind is confused in endeavoring to apply the rules, and distinctions, to great masses of men; but when you come to consider a single mind, in any single act, to judge in one word as God's law judges—in detail—the matter becomes comparatively easy, and certain of decision. So if we take a single soul, and bring it to the standard of the New Testament, is it possible that we cannot by its rules ascertain whether that soul is in the right way, or the wrong way. It will be said that we should find in it both good and evil, both right and wrong. Very well; we must admit this; for none but One has ever lived on this earth, in whom these were not blended. We shall find them mingled together in the characters of the primitive believers, and chosen apostles of our religion. But will any one therefore argue that Paul, and Peter, and John, and Barnabas, and Polycarp, were not to be classed among the righteous? Had they not been translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son? Had they not passed from death unto life? This argument finally resolves itself into the absurdity of practically annihilating the meaning of the Biblical terms righteous and wicked. For it would call no man wicked as long as any good remained in him, nor any man good, who was stained with the least tincture of evil. Surely the New Testament was not written with any such views as these.

It seems to us, that scarcely a chapter of the New Testament can be practically considered, without coming directly to this question concerning the state of the individual. We claim therefore that this discussion which now occupies us, is by no means of a purely speculative character; but is rather of deep practical importance to every man. The application of some of the leading doctrines of the gospel, must, to each man personally, be determined, by settling the question in which of these two conditions he is to be classed. "The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish." Ps. i. 6. The idea of these words of the Old Testament runs through the New. "Examine yourselves," says the Apostle, "whether ye be in the faith;

prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates." 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Is it possible for a man *now* to find whether he be in "the faith," and whether Christ be in him? If it be not possible, this, and many similar exhortations are of no value, or at least of much diminished value to him. Or can any man *now* join the Apostle feelingly in such words as these: "Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light: who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." Col. i. 12, 13. If any can do so, they have settled for themselves this question now before us. If there are any who cannot feelingly join in these words of thanksgiving, it is time for them to examine anew the Scriptures, and their own selves. It is not too much to say that the whole *aspect* of the Scriptures toward any man is determined by the decision as to his state; whether he be within, or without, the kingdom of God's dear Son. He who is within that kingdom is exhorted to persevere, and press forward in the blessed way on which he has entered. He who is without, is warned to turn, to repent, to forsake his way, and seek the paths of peace, for there is no peace to the wicked. The one lies all in the sunshine of the divine word, its promises and blessings smile on him from every page. The other is overshadowed by its menacing clouds; its warnings, its threats, its expostulations, all array themselves in his path, as did God's angel in the way of the recreant prophet. The gospel indeed overflows with love toward the sinner; but the first pressing purpose of that love is, to withdraw his feet from this perilous way, and place them in another. Every man is to settle the question then in which of these ways he is walking, before he is able rightly to apply the Scripture to himself. To every individual, then, as dealing with himself, as examining and proving his own self, it seems important to be able to bring himself properly to this test.

Is it not of importance also, that the preacher of the gospel consider well, and wisely, this matter? Is he to recognize in his congregation none but the wicked? Is he to overlook in a great measure God's love to the righteous; *and* preach only God's love to the sinner? Surely

if things are so, and are so to be, he has deep reason to inquire if there is not a fatal mistake somewhere. Is that a worthy Christian congregation, which has not among its members, one who can feel confidence to say, "The law of the spirit of life, in Jesus Christ, has made me free from the law of sin and death." Rom. viii. 2. Not one who "with the heart has believed unto righteousness?" Can such a state of things be consistent with the full preaching of that divine testimony which in the ancient days brought so many souls from death unto life? But it will be objected that the claim to such a change and privilege is boastful. Not so; it is consistent with the deepest humility, it comports best with holy fear, and with reverent worship, giving to God all the glory. Boastful! as well might the green corn in harvest time, bring such a charge against the ripe sheaves; for such souls are God's ripened sheaves. Not that their work is done, when they are able to make this profession; far from it, for neither is the work of the ripened grain done when it has come to the harvest.

Well may the preacher of the gospel labor and pray that he may present many such as these, a full proof of his ministry. And that he may do his duty in this respect, not too hastily encouraging those whose time has not yet come, nor keeping back those who are ready to enter the kingdom, he has need to consider faithfully the subject which is now before us.

We must grant that there are some practical difficulties attending the attempt to draw the dividing line betwixt the righteous and the wicked; and since we think no small amount of the perplexities which invest this subject, arise from human doctrines and notions concerning it, we will repair at once to the sacred Scriptures, where we are certain that correct information is to be found, and hope that we may be able to find it.

In the xviii. chapter of Ezekiel, we find certain very full and pointed declarations on this subject, which may be summed up in the language of the 26th and 27th verses, as follows: "When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them; for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die. Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that

which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Because he considereth and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely live, he shall not die." The terms *righteous* and *wicked*, here, are evidently not based on any covenanted relations, such as those of the Jewish people to God; but on personal character and actual conduct. We find here, verbally at least, the unmitigated language of the old Jewish law: "This do and live." Should we adopt this passage of Scripture as our standard and test, all might seem clear and easy upon the subject. But this facility is only deceptive; we are met at once by the proofs of the alloyed and imperfect nature of all human deeds, and are forced to yield at once to Paul's conclusion that "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified." The question then arises, Has not the gospel in some degree modified the austere demands of this law? Has it not substituted for it a gentler code, having more pity for the weakness of human purposes and efforts? If so, we must, in deciding on this subject, lay by the ancient code; and judge according to the later and more lenient rule. But, some one will say: Surely the gospel cannot be more favorable to sin than the law. Not more favorable, and yet more lenient. "For the law was given by Moses, but *grace* and *truth* came by Jesus Christ." Of which grace an apostle says, "By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." It does not appear then that we shall best follow the spirit of the gospel by endeavoring to conform our opinions to all the strictness of this ancient rule.

True, the beloved disciple seems to lay down the same rule when he writes: "Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous;" from which it may plausibly be argued, that an immaculate life alone could entitle one to claim that name of righteous. But he also writes, "My little children, these things write I unto you that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Now we think that no one will dispute that John and his brethren might properly be called right-

eous. Yet it appears they might have sins which would need an advocate with the Father. Can we not perceive here the spirit of a divine tenderness, which, while with one uplifted hand it averts the sweeping, merciless sword of the ancient law that strikes at all sin, with the other draws the sinner away from his guilty course, seeking by the sweet counsel of mercy to win his soul wholly to virtue? By the Apostle's language in this place, however, we are given clearly to understand that we can not distinguish the righteous as those who do not sin. Hence results the conclusion that the question before us is by no means to be decided wholly by men's conduct. We might bring many facts to confirm this view. For example, Paul, in Gal. vi. 1, gives directions in what manner the man who is "overtaken in a fault" is to be dealt with, plainly shewing that among the righteous, (for such must the members of those early churches be accounted,) there were sins; or in other words, that the righteous were not to be distinguished by their never doing wrong.

We find then, that we cannot practically establish the distinctive line between the righteous and the wicked, upon the outward acts of men. For, leaving the question whether the wicked ever do good acts, we have certainly ascertained that the righteous sin, and are admonished, and as sons chastened accordingly. This view seems so abundantly sustained by the whole scope of the New Testament, that it would appear to be needless to argue the point further. Yet, as it may seem to conflict with the important rule given by our Saviour, when he said of men, "By their fruits shall ye know them," it may be proper to devote a moment to the consideration of the relation which the decision we have just announced sustains to this divine maxim. Let us notice, in the first place, the widely different purpose of the two propositions. The rule of our Saviour just referred to, is intended to teach us how to judge of *others*. The rules which we are searching for, are designed mostly to help us to decide a matter of more immediate importance to ourselves, namely, our *own* spiritual condition. They place us on that most important stand-point, to which the Scriptures are to a great extent adjusted, where we may carefully consider our own relations to divine truth. They lead us to consider the bearing

of the rules and doctrines of the divine word on our own hearts and consciences. One prominent purpose which this discussion may, it is hoped, subserve, is to bring this subject more closely home to our people, and to lead us to ask ourselves, Have we entered into the kingdom of Christ, or are we still standing without?

We think that the test which we seek can be found by every man in his own heart. To the same view looks the apostolic injunction: "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves." We must search out that deep ground in the heart on which rest all our professions, confessions, and confidence in our religious state.

After so many preliminaries, let us now announce distinctly where we think this dividing line, which separates the righteous from the wicked, is to be found. *It is in the leading or prevailing intent of the heart; the attitude, so to speak, of the soul.* It is defined in the following words of Paul: "Know ye not, that to whom ye *yield yourselves* servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or obedience unto righteousness." So when we determine within ourselves to adhere to Christ and his doctrine, to make his law our rule of life, and his example our pattern, we may then justly style ourselves righteous, and claim to ourselves the privileges of that state, although we find at times the law in our members warring against the law in our minds, and subjecting us, as momentary captives, not as willing servants, to sin.

When we speak, as above, of a determination to adhere to Christ, we intend of course an abiding decision, and not a mere momentary resolve. We mean that this shall be and remain the ruling motive and predominating desire of the soul. We mean that the face shall be continually set Zion-ward, and the soul be true to the deep influences of Christian love.

The magnetic needle thus is true to the pole; other and more powerful influences nearer at hand, may cause it to swerve; yet still it struggles to turn towards the centre of its vital loyalty; and when the distracting substance is withdrawn, returns trembling to point again towards the pole, in obedience to its permanent inner law. When

we find that this virtue exists in it, we do not hesitate to pronounce that it is a magnetic needle, in contradistinction to all common needles, even though it may be for the time deflected from the true point.

So the righteous man may be drawn away from his faithfulness to the Christian law; in the world's conflicting influences he may tremble, and waver, and cry for help; but when he *settles* it is on loyalty to duty, devotion to truth, faith in Christ, and love to God. And if a man finds this loyalty in his heart, he may appropriate to himself those messages of the divine word which speak to the righteous. Then may he place himself along side the early Christian, and join him in repeating these words, a meditation on which has led to the writing of this article: "Seeing then that we have a great high-priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast *our profession.* For we have not a high-priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need." Heb. iv. 14, 15, 16. But how can he hold fast a profession who dares not, even in his secret soul, to make one. He does not draw the gospel to his bosom, but holds it at arms-length from him. It is a great error of our denomination that we repudiate these Christian tests and professions. The mischief of this error is seen in the fact that a large number of our most amiable and devoted men and women, are placed in a false position, where they neither enjoy the privileges, nor attain to the ripeness, of Christian character, which is their proper due. It is painful to know that such persons often hesitate or are unable to give a definite answer when asked if they are Christians, or have experienced religion. Whereas if they did justice to themselves, and to that Christian truth in which they trust, and to which they are loyal, they should give a most decided or at least hopeful affirmative. Grant if you will that the current questions upon this topic are often deeply tainted with cant, and disfigured with misconceptions and formalism. Still beneath all this they contain the root of a question of the deepest importance. It is one which every person should be

ready to "answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in him, with meekness and fear." 1 Pet. iii. 15.

The apostolic direction, that such hopes, and their reasons, are to be stated with meekness and fear, brings to mind another practical objection which operates among us to deter many of our best spirits from any attempt to decide definitely their spiritual state. This religious state is often claimed, and its consequences, or more frequently its supposed consequences, are asserted with such a tone of spiritual arrogance as to disgust a really religious mind. The ineffable airs of spiritual aristocracy with which a party, who style themselves "we saints," lord it over another portion of God's heritage, which with whining pity they style "you sinners," is indeed utterly repulsive to a mind which has truly caught the spirit of Christian humility and gentleness. But we deeply wrong ourselves if we permit this folly to prevent us from enjoying, and professing, Christian confidence and hope, and giving our reasons therefor with meekness and fear.

Surely we may conceive that one should say in his own heart, or profess to the world, that he is in the kingdom of "God's dear Son;" that he has "passed from death unto life;" that he is "born of God;" that he has "purified his soul in obeying the truth;" without any spiritual pride, boasting, or arrogance. Indeed, is it not easy to see how these professions must inspire one, who rightly conceives of them, with a more complete self renunciation, and a more heartfelt humility. And are we prepared to say that none now may claim and appropriate to themselves these primal expressions of our faith. Is it indeed become impossible that any one should claim, except under the charge of arrogance, spiritual pride, or undue pretension, that to him is fulfilled those words of our Saviour so profoundly deep in their meaning of spiritual help and divine peace: "he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." John xiv. 23. Who would dare formally to maintain such a theory? Who dares believe that the spiritual world has receded into some such cold, drear winter solstice, far away from God? And what

penalties must fall on the denomination which, through false humility, or religious mawkishness, practically plants itself on such a position? The penalty of inconclusiveness as to the practical finishing of her faith; to be ever establishing premises, but failing of conclusions; to be always heaping up materials, but never building the house; perpetually to spell the syllables, but never to pronounce the word; to find often her sons and daughters brought to the doorway of the Christian church, yet not daring to enter; their thoughts discovering in some of the highest doctrines and institutions of Christianity, only duties which they dare not assume to perform, or privileges which it would appear presumptuous in them to claim; to have them remain friends or servants of the Christian household, but not sons and daughters of the family. Is there not a very considerable portion of our people who if closely questioned would find it quite impossible to say what they are? They are not heathen, for they have been trained in the light of Christianity, under the influence of sermons, amid the efforts of Sunday schools, with a free church, and an open Bible. They will hardly in the fullest sense call themselves Christians; for there seems an assumption in so doing from which they shrink back. We can only consider them to be a kind of christian raw material, waiting some finishing process or plastic hand of power to shape them into some finished product.

But is the preacher to select in his congregation those who are in either of the two classes designated in the Scripture, and separate them from each other? Surely not. But he is to declare the tests, and trace the division on this subject. He is to encourage those who are worthy, by fairly stating the Scripture doctrine as to this matter, and making them feel what great privileges are theirs. He is to recognize the important fact, in one word, that there is a large portion of the gospel addressed to the righteous; and that it should be faithfully preached, reasonably applied, and heartily received. E. F.

Art. XXII.

Literary Notices.

1. A Translation of the Gospels. With Notes. By Andrews Norton. Vol. i. The Text. Vol. ii. Notes. Boston: Little, Brown, & Company. 1855. 8vo. pp. 443, 565.

2. Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospel. Part i. Remarks on Christianity and the Gospels, with particular reference to Strauss's "Life of Jesus." Part ii. Portions of an Unfinished Work. By Andrews Norton. Boston: Little, Brown, & Company. 1855. 8vo. pp. 309.

These two publications have long been waited for; and now that they at length appear, they appear as posthumous and unfinished. Happily, however, the Translation was brought into a state satisfactory to the author, before his death; and the first part of the Internal Evidences was so nearly perfected as to want nothing but the last revision. Mr. Norton was a writer who never willingly suffered any thing from his pen to go before the world, till it had received the highest finish that he was able to give it. The volume of Notes on the Gospels, and the second part of the Internal Evidences, were not so far advanced towards completion. Of each of these, however, the general plan seems to have been mostly filled out, though sometimes in a rough sketch only; and the Editors, who have evidently done their work with a great deal of care and with much judicious tact, have supplied the vacancies that occur, here and there, with appropriate extracts from other works of the author. On the whole, notwithstanding he did not live to complete the preparation of these volumes according to his own high standard, we may yet be confident that we have, in them, even as they now appear, his best and most mature thoughts on the several points which the works embrace. Thanks to the good sense and faithfulness of the Editors, it is only in the dress, rather than in the substance, that we have to regret a want of completeness.

The volume on the Internal Evidences may be regarded as a sequel to the author's former work on the Genuineness of the Gospels. That work has always appeared to us to be in many respects the best that we have read on the subject. Though we are not convinced by some of its criticisms on the text, and though we can not adopt some of its negative hypotheses, the proof which it sets forth of the authenticity of the Gospel narrative seems to us demonstration, while the clearness with which it exposes the absurdity of the current infidel objections and theories, is unsurpassed in any other *apologetical* writings that have come to our knowledge.

The same excellences distinguish the present work. In the first part of it, the author examines the theory of Strauss, and shows, in his clear, common-sense way, the impossibility of fitting a mythic hypothesis to the acknowledged nature of the case. At the close, he gives us an insight into the Pantheistic, or, more properly, Atheistic, philosophy of Hegel, which Strauss and his school wish to substitute for Christianity, and some observations, are added, that are evidently designed for the benefit of certain "Transcendentalists," in our own country. In the second part, entitled, "Portions of an Unfinished Work," he enters a field that has hitherto been seldom recognized. Perhaps we may the most intelligibly designate it as the Undesigned Coincidences in the Gospels, analagous to Paley's Undesigned Coincidences in the Epistles. His general statement of the ground, (for we have not space to follow him into his luminous amplifications), is as follows: "In the narratives of the Evangelists, the existence of many facts which are not expressly mentioned is implied. In order to understand fully what is told, and to perceive its bearing and application, we must take into view much that is not told. There is to be found in almost every part of the Gospels a latent reference to some existing state of things which is not described. But when we attend to the character of those facts with which different portions of the narrative are thus connected, we find that they are all probable or certain; that we have distinct evidence of them from other sources; or that, supposing the truth of what is related in the Gospels, and viewing this in connection with all our other knowledge on the subject in question, they are such as must or might have existed. The inferences from these histories, though many and various, are all consistent with the histories themselves, and with whatever we can learn from other sources. In tracing out the necessary or probable bearing of those actions and discourses which are recorded, or in assigning their probable occasions or consequences, we detect no inconsistency with the history itself, and find no contradiction of known facts, but, on the contrary, we are continually perceiving new marks of probability and truth. This coincidence between what is told and what is implied, this correspondence between the action and discourses related and that state of things and series of events to which they refer as existing contemporaneously and running parallel with them, does not appear here and there only, but discovers itself throughout the Gospels. But this consistency of the narrative with itself, both in what is told and in what may be inferred from it, and its consistency with all other known facts having a bearing upon it, is evidently not the work of study or artifice. It is not worth while to inquire whether it could in any case be produced by such means; because there is no dispute that the whole character of the Gospels is opposed to such a supposition. They are very inartificial compositions. If, moreover, the coincidences

ces of which we speak had been factitious, and intended to give an air of probability to the narrative, they would not have been left so latent and obscure as they often are. The writer would have taken care that they should be noticed by the reader. On the contrary, those to which we particularly refer are obviously undesigned. If, then, the appearances which have been described really exist, they can be accounted for only by the truth of the history. It is impossible that a fiction pretending to the character of a true history, especially a fiction relating to such events as are recorded in the Gospels, should be so consistent with itself, with probability, and with known facts, in such a number and variety of latent coincidences." pp. 192–194. We conclude our notice of this work by earnestly commending it to the study of all who doubt the authenticity of the Gospel narrative.

Of the other work, the Translation and Notes, we must speak only in very general terms. The Translation is the product of patient study and long deliberation, by an eminent scholar in Biblical learning. It would therefore be vanity in us to assume to judge of it critically after a cursory examination. Still, it may not be unbecoming to state the general impression we have received of its character. We think that Mr. Norton, as a translator, sometimes invades the peculiar province of a commentator, giving us not the text, but his explanation of the text as an equivalent. We prefer in all cases to have the text itself, as nearly as the idioms of the two languages will permit, and then, if an explanation is needed, to have that separately, with the grounds on which it rests. There are instances, we think, in which he has unwarrantably made the text conform to some of his distinguishing dogmas. He is too adventurous an interpreter. Though not so daring in this respect as Gilbert Wakefield, whose recklessness has deprived his translation of all weight, yet it is not improbable that the example of the latter, whom he once admired, affected Mr. Norton unfavorably at an early age, and that he never recovered from the influence. It is well known that he rejects the two first chapters of Matthew's Gospel as spurious, without any authority for so doing, save that of remote inference from uncertain premises. We may observe also that to many passages he gives a more modern air and less simple form than are found in our current version. This, however, is but a matter of taste. After all, notwithstanding these faults, his translation is an important contribution to Biblical interpretation, deserving respectful attention from all theological scholars.

Many of his Notes are valuable; and many of the extracts which the editors have taken from his other publications, embody much useful information. If, in his comments and expositions, Mr. Norton often seems to strain the text to bring it into coincidence with his *doctrinal* views, we have less reason to complain in such cases, than

in those cases where he seems to do the same thing in his translation. An expositor has unquestionably the right to offer his opinion, whatever it may be, of the meaning of a passage, though he should always be required first to give us the passage itself without distortion. We have intimated that he is too adventurous to be a safe translator; we think he is too adventurous also as a commentator. And yet, in some of his Notes, he appears to adhere, without any discoverable reason, to the beaten track of more Orthodox theologians. We were surprized to find, in his Notes on Matt. xxiv., that he makes Christ to have passed, at ver. 42, from a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem to an account of a future judgment, and that he explains the warning, "Watch, then, for you know not the day nor the hour," (xxv. 13,) thus, "the day or the hour when you may be summoned, and should be prepared, to meet, in the future life, the consequences of your conduct in the present."

Mr. Norton's theological learning was extensive and exact. He devoted himself through life to the study of the Bible and of theology, with remarkable singleness of purpose. For this, we cannot but honor him. And the ability, perseverance, and success with which he so patiently labored to vindicate the authentic gospel of Christ merit the thanks of every believer in Christianity, and should secure him from all bigoted severity with respect to his lax notions even of the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The mechanical execution of these volumes is in the very highest style of beauty and elegance,—a choice example of the perfection to which Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co., have carried the publisher's art.

3. A History of the Christian Church, by Dr. Charles Hase, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated from the seventh and much improved German edition, by Charles E. Blumenthal, Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College, and Conway P. Wing, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1855. 8vo. pp. 720.

We cannot introduce a notice of this portly volume more appropriately than by an extract from the Translator's preface:

"This translation was undertaken because its authors knew of no work in English which precisely corresponded with it. The histories of Milner, Waddington, Milman, Stebbing, Hardwicke and Robertson, and the translations of Mosheim and Neander, Dollinger, Thiersch and Schaff, have severally specific merits with reference to the objects of their composition; but many of them are incomplete as general histories, most of them were written so as to give undue prominence to some single aspect of the characters and events of which they treat, and all of them are too large to be used either as

manuals for the scholar, as text books for the instructor, or as compendiums for the general reader. A miniature representation of a large mass of facts, in which each personage and event shall appear in their individual freshness and relative proportions, requires for its execution peculiar talents and rare opportunities. The Germans appear to possess these to a greater degree than any other people."

We should decidedly demur to the breadth of the decision in this last sentence of the translators. The Germans, by means of their wider learning and marvellous patience of thought, have certainly the power, beyond any other scholars, of arranging a mass of *events* with admirable method, and of disposing them *genetically*. But as a class, the German scholars are not able to portray *personages* "in their individual freshness and relative proportions." In the metaphysical logic of occurrences, thoughts, systems, as belonging to the dead world of *things*, and apart from all consideration of the men and the peculiarities of genius from which they flowed, the historical scholars of Germany, in all departments, must take the highest rank. But remarkable as they are in laying bare and expounding the *anatomy* of history, they cannot so well reveal the *physiology* of it. They do not arrange their material dramatically, and they do not conceive their work so. It is for this reason that Neander, Mosheim, and Gieseler are so tough and unreadable to all persons who do not have an independent and controlling interest in the period, or the system, which they comprehend so minutely and lay bare with such marvellous erudition.

There was a call, therefore, even in Germany, for a compendium of church history that has the fire of a historical imagination diffused through it—a manual in which *men* should stand out as something more than ideal outlines, to give the body and the relish of human personality and passion to the great story that includes centuries and civilizations in its march. Dr. Hase's book possesses something of this merit. At least, it is distinguished among German works by greater vigor in the portraiture of persons, and more vitality in the conception of Christianity as a dramatic force in history. We do not think that the encomium of the translators is quite borne out, to the extent of their meaning; but the following criticism does certainly detail very happily the points in which he surpasses the church historians among his countrymen. "The style of our author is especially adapted to the Anglo-Saxon mind; his astonishing power of condensed expression,—his æsthetic, if not religious sympathies, with every variety of religious and moral greatness,—his skilful daguerreotypes of characters by means of the transmitted light of contemporary language,—the delicate irony and genial humor that pervade his descriptions,—the picturesque liveliness with which a single character or incident brings out the manners and spirit of an age,—the precision with which his scientific arrangement is preserved,

the critical judgment with which the minutest results of recent investigations are introduced,—and the graceful proportion and animation with which the whole stands out before us, render his history attractive to all kinds of readers." It will be seen, therefore, that the translators would make out Dr. Hase to be the German Macaulay of church history. We may call him so, if we will keep in mind that the difference between an English and German Macaulay is wider, measured by the longitudes of the literary world, than when estimated by those of space.

Of course Dr. Hase, as a true German historian, has a general and fundamental theory underlying his volume. His definition of the church is very broad. It runs thus: "The Church was originally founded by the spirit that proceeded from Jesus, and was intended to embrace in its communion all the religious life derived from him, or in connection with him." He maintains, too, that the church is always in a progressive state; that is, it is always striving to be a perpetual manifestation of Christ in the life of humanity. It is always aiming to exhibit his life more and more perfectly, and on a more extensive scale, sometimes in conflict and sometimes in connection with the world. A man who can keep his mind in the broad light of these noble definitions, of course will not be incompetent, through sectarianism and prejudice, to write the history of the Christian movement in the nations.

Dr. Hase divides the history of the Church into three ages—ancient, mediæval, and modern; each of which is subdivided into two periods. The first period of ancient church history, representing Græco-Roman civilization dominant but declining, extends to the victory of the church under Constantine, in 312; the second period ends with the establishment of the holy Roman Empire among the Germanic nations, by Charlemagne. The first period of the second age reveals the general development of the Papacy, and closes with Innocent III., 1216; the second period, showing symptoms of Papal decline and tokens of a coming reformation, reaches from 1216 to to the birth of modern church history in 1517. The first period of the third age, distinguished by the conflict of Protestantism with Catholicism, is bounded by the peace of Westphalia in 1648; the second period of which our life is a portion, is distinguished for the spirit of religious independence in conflict with ecclesiastical usages, and the territorial extension of the church.

The present translation is made from the seventh German edition. About a hundred pages of the work were in type when the seventh edition came to hand. An appendix of about thirty pages contains all the alterations made by the author in that part of the work that was thus set up. A very full index completes its value to the student. The consultation of this work that we have been able to make, impresses upon us more vividly the need of a full church his-

tory, by a masterly English mind, that shall bring out in outline clear as Macaulay's portraitures, and with vitality such as the touches of Carlyle's pencil give to the heroes of faith, the great characters that ennoble the story of the church's fortunes,—a mind that, with learning competent as that of Gibbon, can trace with healthier sympathies than his, the dying of the classic, and the rise of the Christian civilization,—a mind so poised that it can appreciate the rival glories of Catholic and Protestant annals, and trace the influence of the pure gospel through the institutions and genius of both churches, which have adorned it, perhaps equally, by their different contributions, and dishonored it almost equally by their dogmas, their passions and their crimes. Dr. Hase's manual is decidedly the best we have seen. It is admirably printed, and is not dear at the publisher's price, three dollars. K.

4. Satire and Satirists. By James Hannay. 12 mo. pp. 235. Redfield, New York. 1855.

These six lectures, on the Literature of Satire, are written in a very dashing and readable style; are marked by considerable vigor, insight and discrimination; and convey a body of entertaining information which, as we should judge, will amply repay most readers for the cost of the volume and the time occupied in perusing it. K.

5. We have received also from Redfield, "The Odoherty Papers, by the late William Maginn, LL. D. Annotated by Dr. Sheldon Mackenzie, editor of the Noctes Ambrosianæ, in two volumes." The notice we gave of the celebrated Noctes will apply equally to these papers. Maginn was one of the prominent contributors to those jovial, rollicking effusions from the wits of Blackwood. These papers literally boil over with spirits—animal and alcoholic. We can well believe what his editor says, that Maginn's stores of learning and knowledge were so vast that his memory ever found them exhaustless, and also that he had a fatal facility of composition. His brain, too, always played under a stream of liquor. These volumes are rich in wit, rich in fun, rich in parodies and all sorts of saucy burlesque, and richer than all, as an artistic specimen of the riot of noble powers, when they work in an atmosphere of tobacco-smoke, and with a punch-bowl for an inkstand.

The public are also indebted to the Redfield house for the publication, in a separate volume, of a biographical memoir of Hon. William H. Seward. It is enlarged beyond its proportions as originally published in the first volume of his works, and is sufficiently enriched with speeches to give, in a moderate compass, a picture of the mind and character, as well as of the personal fortunes of that remarkable and noble man. Mr. Seward has a past that is honorable; he has a future, we believe, that will place him still more prominent as a *representative* of America.

We omitted in our last issue to call attention to a sprightly and charming volume with the title "Cosas De España or going to Madrid via Barcelona," from Redfield's Press. Many of our readers have doubtless been entertained with some of its chapters in Putnam's Magazine. It certainly gives a brilliant, sketchy and gossipy picture of Spanish scenery and the surface of Spanish life, and is a capital companion for an excursion in the steamboat or the cars. Some of the author's descriptions of Alpine scenery are worth remembering, and reveal powers of landscape description that should be cultivated. Take this close of a passage on Mt. Blanc at sunset: "One parting kiss, and the brow of the mountain was left as pale as a woman at the fading away of her last hope of love. Colorless, but pure, stood the white peak in the blue of the upper firmament. All nature below was by this time wrapt in gloom; but until long after the evening had woven its garland of stars around the hoar mountain's head, could it be seen towering through mid-heaven in solitary and awful majesty."

From Crosby, Nichols, & Co. Boston, we have first to notice a volume with the modest title "Semons by Thomas T. Stone, of Bolton." Would that all volumes of sermons that come to us were as worthy of preservation in type, and of a place on the shelf which holds the books one reads, as this book is. We do not think that our estimate of it has been unworthily colored by our great regard for the author himself. It is a book that shows a mind which not only deals with Christian ideas, but is baptized into Christianity and lives in it. It is a book that interprets the Christianity of the spirit as well as of the record. It is philosophical, and yet not so philosophical as pious; it is comprehensive, and yet it is practical and searching; it is wise, and yet its wisdom is humble and warm with charity; it is reformatory in its tone, and yet as sweet and as sincerely philanthropic as it is uncompromising. We commend this book heartily to our brethren. It is a worthy and welcome addition to liberal Christian literature.

We get a long distance from the last volume in writing the title, "Notes on Duels and Duelling, alphabetically arranged, with a preliminary Historical Essay by Lorenzo Sabine," which Crosby & Nichols have issued. The title itself states the character and value of the book. It is prepared, as all Mr. Sabine's productions are, with exemplary faithfulness, and embodies an amount of statistical and elegant brutality that ought to sink the duel and its code so low as to degrade the man who meddles with either below any claim to be considered civilized. The duels of Barron with Decatur, and Hamilton with Burr, are narrated in all their circumstances with great fulness, and leave an impression which one would think could never be effaced

from the reader, of the utter depravity and folly of such adjustments of disputes.

We are indebted to Messrs. Crosby & Nichols, further, for a new work by Rev. Dr. Burnap, of Baltimore, "Christianity, Its Essence and Evidence: or an Analysis of the New Testament with Historical facts, Doctrines, Opinions, and Phraseology." Dr. Burnap is one of the ablest and clearest of the controversial writers that have contributed to the Unitarian movement and literature. He is a thorough student of his subject, a man of definite and strong convictions, a careful and plain Biblical interpreter, a rigid logician, and master of a style transparent as crystal. His volume on the "Rectitude of Human Nature" is, we believe, unanswerable. The work just published is devoted to a criticism of the New Testament, with the purpose of saving Christianity and its records from the destructive naturalism of Mr. Parker, and the skeptical contempt of Gibbon. While the analysis is especially intended to separate in the New Testament documents the facts and doctrines that are permanent, from the opinions that are uninspired, and the phraseology that wears the hue of a departed time, the volume does good service, incidentally, against the Trinitarian assumptions and sacrificial philosophy which have prevented thus far the full sway of the religion of Jesus. The arrangement of the lectures is very symmetrical and admirable.

"Essays by Theophilus Parsons," a new edition, and "The Golden Reed; or the True measure of a True Church. By B. F. Barrett," have come to us from the same house. The last named volume, however, was published by the Appletons in New York. Both works were prepared in the interest of the New Church, or Swedenborgian system of faith. The "Essays we have found quite satisfactory and stimulating. They have drawn us to a second and third perusal. Their titles are "Life;" "Providence;" "Correspondence;" "The Human Form;" "Religion;" "The New Jerusalem." Under these heads Mr. Parsons, in a clear, rich, scholarly style, discusses and unfolds principles which lie at the basis and are interfused with all spiritual religion. The most prejudiced opponent of the especial claims of Swedenborg must recognize gratefully, we think, the insight which discloses in these pages some of the deepest laws of life, and the agency of the divine spirit in nature and the soul. Mr. Barrett's work aims chiefly, by quotations from Swedenborg, felicitously made and carefully arranged, to show the breadth of the New Church theology, and its competence to compose the strife of christendom, by drawing thought to a higher and wider plane. K.

4. A Treatise on English Punctuation; designed for Letter-Writers, Authors, Printers, and Correctors of the Press; and for the use of

Schools and Academies, with an Appendix, containing Rules on the use of Capitals, a list of Abbreviations, Hints on the Preparation of copy and Proof Reading, Specimens of Proof sheet, &c. By John Wilson. Third Edition. Enlarged. Boston: Printed by John Wilson & Son. 1855.

Every man who writes much for the press, and who is called upon to read his own proofs, finds out, through perplexity and great tribulation, that punctuation is a science. Mr. Wilson, a careful thinker, a correct writer, and a perfect printer, offers assistance, in the most modest but efficient manner, to all who desire to master the science and thus to put their thoughts in proper dress. His treatise exhausts the subject. It penetrates to the philosophy of it, discusses and expounds rules with admirable method and clearness, adjusts rival theories, and unfolds all the minutiæ of their application. No one can consult his book without gaining new and important insight as to the structure of language, and the subtile delicacies of accurate composition. It ought to be in every writer's library. K.

5. The Dietetics of the Soul. By Ernest Von Teuchtersleben, M. D. *Valere Aude!* Edited from the Seventh Edition. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1855.

Kant, the metaphysician, once wrote on "the power of the mind to master morbid feelings by the mere force of resolution." This sprightly and wise little book affirms not only that morbid feelings may be mastered, but that the access of many forms of disease may be controlled by the inward *Ego*. It insists upon and elaborates the old stoic maxim "what the spirit *wills*, the body *must*." It is as readable as it is wholesome. K.

6. Peg Woffington. A novel. By Charles Reade. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1855.

7. Christie Johnstone. A novel. By Charles Reade. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1855.

We don't know what to say of these two books, now that we have copied their titles. They are so fresh, so inartificial, so brilliant, so crammed with life, that any of the ordinary, hackneyed phrases in which literary notices are "done up," would be an unpardonable offence against the spirit that pervades them. We wish simply to commend them with heartiness enough to induce all our readers to procure and devour them without delay. We will answer for their gratitude.

Mr. Charles Reade is a new man. He has introduced a new style of character-drawing and story telling. How intense his perceptions! How rapid and firm his strokes! How he strikes a truth to the core in a careless, sideway sentence. What brilliant dialogue! What flashing wit! What sunny humor, too! And yet

is not pathos, genuine, wholesome pathos, that stirs the fountain of manly tears, a still more remarkable element of his genius. What a vigorous moral, moreover, looks out from each book without any intention seemingly on the author's part! The volumes are religious, Christian, in their influence, because the laws of life are religious, because genuine goodness naturally takes the Christian expression. Let any one who thinks our eulogium extravagant, read the green-room scenes in "Peg Woffington" and the opening chapters of "Christie Johnstone," and then deliver his own verdict, which is the greater book, "Peg" or "Christie." A lady said to us, very happily, that there is as much genius in either as in both. Some put "Christie" considerably above its companion. If the reader has heard the two songs, "batti, batti," and "vedrai Carino," from "Don Giovanni," and will decide which is better, and which he would prefer to have omitted from the treasury of music, he may take up the issue and settle it between these twin expressions of the genius of Charles Reade. K.

8. Messrs. Ticknor & Fields have issued "Westward Ho! The Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh, Knight of Burrough, in the County of Devon, in the reign of Her most glorious Majesty, Queen Elizabeth. Rendered into modern English by Charles Kingsley, author of "Hypatia," "Alton Locke," &c." We have not read this new work by the dashing, adventurous, and prolific churchman, and so cannot speak of it from personal knowledge. There can be no doubt, however, of the vitality of any book of Charles Kingsley, and a man who could reproduce an ancient century so vividly as he has done in "Hypatia" may be trusted to revivify the scenes of Queen Elizabeth's reign. K.

9. We have received from Hickling, Swan, & Brown, a new and admirable edition, greatly improved by additions and notes from Professor Felton's pen, of Smith's "History of Greece." We have called attention to the excellence of the main work before. The continuation is of great value to every student who would gain a clear account of the origin of the present Eastern war, and of the characteristics and promise of modern Greek genius.

Of kindred interest is their elegant reprint of Lord Carlisle's "Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters," edited also by Professor Felton. At another time the "noble author's" memoranda would be less attractive. Their connection with the present war and with Greek politics and society, invests them with an importance that justifies an American edition. K.

10. The History of Massachusetts. The Colonial Period. By John Stetson Barry. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company. 1855. 8vo. pp. 516.

Ending in the year 1692. It is evident that the author had pre-

pared himself for this work by a very extensive research into the sources of the history, and by a thorough study of all that has been published in elucidation of it. So far as we are able to judge, his narrative and statements rest everywhere on authentic documents, which he appears to have weighed and collated with judicious discrimination, availing himself, at the same time, of the labors of his predecessors in this field. The range which he surveys is wide, and the narrative full. The spirit in which he treats the characters and doings of the Pilgrims, is impartial,—reverent of their heroism and lofty aims, generous to make allowance for the influence of their age, but just to point out their faults and erroneous principles. The story is told in an easy, perspicuous manner; and if the style is sometimes rather diffuse, indicating perhaps a want of practice in historical writing, we may say at least that it never leaves the current of events obscure.

We trust that the reception of this volume will be such as to encourage the author to proceed with the history to the present time. The task is not likely to find one to execute it, who is better acquainted with the matter, or more temperate, impartial, and just in his treatment. He says, very truly, that "Massachusetts has a history of which she may well be proud;" and we add, that whoever shall worthily write it, will do a service, and secure an honorable estimation, of which his friends, if not himself, may be proud. The accomplishment of such an undertaking will abundantly repay years of secluded toil and of exhaustive application. May this honor be his!

In the present volume, after giving a brief account of the early voyages to America, the discovery of Massachusetts, and the rise of the Puritans in England, he begins his fuller narrative with the gathering of the "Pilgrim Church" at Scrooby and Gainsborough, and ends it in the reign of William and Mary.

11. Literary and Historical Miscellanies. By George Bancroft. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855. 8vo. pp. 517.

Consisting of Essays, Studies and Translations in German Literature, Studies in History, and Occasional Addresses,—the dates of the several articles ranging from 1818 to 1854, and thus covering the whole period of the author's life as a writer. There is no occasion to describe the general character of these pieces, stamped as they are with the style and form of thought that distinguish one of the best known of our American *literati*. To those, however, who are acquainted with him chiefly as an historian, it will be matter of curiosity as well as of interest to mark him in other and various departments of literature, and to trace the different stages in the formation of his manner from youth onward. His translations from the German poets show him in a character that is new, at least to us.

As particularly valuable both for the matter and for the treatment, we specify the article on "the Decline of the Roman People," written in 1834. It lays open the element of destruction that was working in the Roman Commonwealth long before the ruin in which it issued was suspected. The Gracchi attempted, at an early date, to arrest its progress, by the Agrarian Laws, which have been so grossly misunderstood till of late. "The lands in Italy," says Mr. Bancroft, "were of two classes; private estates, and public domains. With private estates, Gracchus had no thought to interfere. The public domains, though they had been long usurped by the patricians were to be reclaimed as public property, and to be appropriated to the use of the people, under restrictions which should prevent their future appropriation by the few. To effect this object, required no new order; the proper decree was already engraved among the tablets of the Roman laws. It was necessary only to revive the law of Licinius, which had slumbered for two centuries unrepealed. . . . . The famed Agrarian Law, relating only to the public domain, was distinguished by mitigating clauses. To each of those who had appropriated the land without a right, it generously left five hundred acres; to each of their minor children, two hundred and fifty more; and it also promised to make from the public treasury further remuneration for improvement. To every *needy* citizen it probably alloted not more than ten acres; perhaps less. Thus it was designed to create in Italy a yeomanry; instead of slaves, to substitute free laborers; to plant liberty firmly in the land; to perpetuate the Roman Commonwealth, by identifying its prinicples with the culture of the soil. . . . . Philanthropy, when it contemplates a slaveholding country, may have its first sympathies excited for the slaves; but it is a narrow benevolence which stops there. The needy freeman is in a worse condition. The slave has his task, and also his home and his bread. He is the member of a wealthy family. The indigent freeman has neither labor, nor house, nor food; and, divided by a broad gulf from the upper class, he has neither hope nor ambition. He is so abject, that even the slave despises him. For the interest of the slaveholder is diametrically opposite to that of the free laborer. The slaveholder is the competitor of the free laborer, and by the lease of slaves takes the bread from his mouth. The wealthiest man in Rome was the competitor of the poorest free carpenter. The patricians took away the business of the sandal-maker. The existence of slavery made the opulent owners of bondmen the rivals of the poor; greedy after the profits of their labor, and monopolizing those profits through their slaves. In every community where slavery is tolerated, the poor freeman will always be found complaining of hard times.

"The law of Gracchus cut the patricians with a double edge. Their fortunes consisted in land and slaves; it questioned their titles

to the public territories, and it tended to force emancipation by making their slaves a burden. In taking away the soil, it took away the power that kept their live machinery in motion. A real crisis had come, such as hardly occurs to a nation in the progress of many centuries. Men are in the habit of proscribing Julius Cæsar as the destroyer of the Commonwealth. The civil wars, the revolution of Cæsar, the miserable vicissitudes of the Roman emperors, the avarice of the nobles and the rabble, the crimes of the forum and the palace, all have their germ in the ill success of the reform of Gracchus." (pp. 284–287.)

These momentous positions are subsequently illustrated with great clearness and power. The whole article is very suggestive. Other aticles, in this elegantly printed volume, furnish much matter for study. In the last one of the series, the Address before the New York Historical Society, Mr. Bancroft talks Calvinism and Trinitarianism, evidently meaning, however, some form of the modern Neoplatonism. This perversion of technical phrases is not to our taste.

12. A Journey through the Chinese Empire. By M. Huc, Author of "Recollections of a Journey through Tartary and Thibet." In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855. 12mo.

The Journey through the Chinese Empire was made by M. Huc in the year 1846, at the close of his tour through Tartary and Thibet, to which reference is given in the title-page. Of this last named tour, an account was published by the author, at Paris, a few years since, and translated by Mr. Hazlitt for the English press, under the title of "Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the years 1844–5–6." In two vols. These have had a wide circulation, and have made Christendom familiar with a region and state of society that had been but little known. At the end of this work, M. Huc expresses a hope of completing, some day, the narrative of his tour through the Celestial Empire. The volumes before us contain the fulfilment of that hope.

We cannot better describe the value of this sequel, than by quoting the words of the translator: "M. Huc has enjoyed such opportunities of becoming acquainted with China, as have scarcely fallen to the lot of any European before. During the journey here recorded,—a journey through the very heart of the empire, from the frontiers of Thibet to Canton,—he stood under the immediate protection of the Emperor, travelling in all the pride and pomp of a high government functionary, attended humbly by Mandarins, and surrounded by a military escort, and he was brought into constant and intimate relations with persons of the highest rank in the country. During a previous residence of no less than fourteen years in various parts of China, he had been in habits of familiar intercourse with all classes, but more especially with the poor, and while laboring in his

vocation in obscurity and secresy, had looked into the domestic life, and watched the workings of the hidden mechanism of society in that mysterious empire still so imperfectly known, though extending over a surface greater than that of all Europe, and comprising a population of one third of the human race. His knowledge of the institutions, religion, manners, and customs of the Chinese, was not taken on hearsay from the accounts of others, but gathered from actual experience, and he has communicated his knowledge to the reader, not in a heavy, formal dissertation, but in a much pleasanter manner, *apropos* to the various incidents of his extraordinary journey."

13. We have received from the publishers, Messrs. Crosby, Nichols & Co., the last two numbers of the North American Review. This Review, which has been published for thirty-nine years, holds the leading position among the best periodical works of our country. Since it came under the charge of the present editor, it has dropped its ultra conservatism, and deals fearlessly with the reform questions of the age. It aims to express the best tone of American thought, and no literary or public man can well afford to be without it. A new volume commences in July. R. A. B.

14. The History of Napoleon Bonaparte. By John S. C. Abbott. Two vols., large 8vo., with Maps and Illustrations. pp. 611 and 712. Published by Harper & Brothers. Revised and reprinted from the pages of Harpers' New Monthly Magazine.

There are so many different stand-points from which the character and influence of Napoleon may be estimated, that no "history" of that extraordinary genius can hope for anything like unqualified approval from any one, nor for general approval from even a majority of readers. The "history" of Napoleon is far from being finished. Its issues, whether on the whole for good or for evil, are not, as yet, developed. We of to-day, even, are his contemporaries. We live too near him; and our thinking, our feelings, and our partisan relations are so involved in the operations which he set on foot, that we could not, even if we would, fully and accurately appreciate his mission. There are four facts, however, which may be considered as settled: Napoleon had an inordinate, even insane ambition; his impulses, though inconsistent, were often generous, yet were never permitted to interfere with his schemes of aggrandizement; he was a lover of science, and made his victories tell, incidentally, for the spread of learning and the discovery of knowledge, and—whatever may have been his motives—his ascendency had the *effect* of weakening the crowned despotisms of Europe.

In estimating the *character* of Napoleon, the matter of *motive* is directly involved; and this is a matter, which, for reasons already given, the present age cannot determine. One party will take the

ground that his motives were uniformly good, another party that they were uniformly bad; and between these two, there is room for all grades of opinions.

Mr. Abbott stands prominent among the eulogists of Napoleon. He presents him as a model hero, and assumes, that, from first to last, he was actuated by generous impulses, enlarged and progressive purposes, and that he died the benefactor—on *principle*, the benefactor—of his age, and of the world. We must regard this as too high an estimate of the moral character of the great warrior; and such, we think, will be the almost unanimous verdict of the critics. Though not competent to pronounce an authoritative judgment, we *feel* that Mr. Abbott has been misled by his enthusiasm, and that, unconsciously, he has given his hero altogether too much of a saintly halo.

We are not aware that any good critic complains of Mr. Abbott's simple statement of fact. The style is easy, flowing, and, in many passages, truly fascinating.

The printing is above all praise. We know not where to look for a finer specimen of typography. The plates and maps are the same as in the Magazine; but the letter-press is entirely new. The columes are single. The two volumes are handsomely bound. So far as regards the mechanical execution, it will be a long while before even the Harpers excel the two volumes which embrace the History of Napoleon. E.

15. Tri-colored Sketches in Paris, during the years 1851-2-3. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855. 12mo. pp. 368.

Written originally as a journal for one of the New York daily papers. It will be seen, from the dates in the title, that it covers the whole period of the late French revolutions; and, being a diary of events and observations noted down at Paris, the very centre of the movements and the theatre in which the several characters acted their parts, it gives us the impressions of the passing instant as they arose from the author's point of view. He describes the scenes in a lively, sportive style, often with an air of humorous mockery, and always with considerable effect. His scorn of Louis Napoleon is not at all allayed by the metamorphosis of the adventurer into Emperor, nor by the change which the tone of the English press has undergone since the successful *coup d' etat*. Parisian customs, manners, and character, the state of society, and the political parties, together with the distinguished men, have their share of notice, amid the shifting pictures that come before us. On the whole, we have found the work quite amusing, and quite instructive, notwithstanding the author's undisguised partisanship.

16. History of Switzerland, for the Swiss People. By Heinrich Zschokke. With a continuation to the Year 1848, by Emil Zschokke.

Translated by Francis George Shaw. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 405.

In our country, a history written "for the people" would not be distinguished by any peculiarity in the mode of treatment. But, "for the Swiss people," Zschokke seems to have thought it proper to adopt such a tone and manner as we should think suited rather to the capacities of children or of young persons. Allowance being made for this peculiarity, it is but just to say that the work is written in a simple, plain, straight-forward style, and, for the most part, in a condensed form. The author begins his account with the earliest notices that we have of the ancient inhabitants of Switzerland; and, passing cursorily over the contests of the Helvetians with the Romans, and the influx of the Northern barbarians, he enters on a more particular narrative with the commencement of the thirteenth century. From this time onward, the history becomes fuller and fuller, till it reaches the present day. The reputation of the elder Zschokke, as a historian, gives this work a high character as an authority, and the intrinsic interest of the subject will, we think, make it quite popular. It is hardly needful to observe that the history of the Swiss Republics, of their noble struggles for independence, and of their subsequent revolutions, has a strong claim on the special attention of the citizens of every free state. To such sources must we chiefly look for the lessons of experience to guide us in the preservation of that liberty which has been committed to us as a sacred charge.

17. My Mother: or, Recollections of Maternal Influence, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 254.

Nothing can be more natural than the manner in which these sober though tender reminiscences are told. There is apparently no effort to intensify them; every thing has the peculiar charm of simple truth. As a matter of mere taste and judicious execution, we would refer to this volume as exemplifying how much superior is the effect of such an unaffected manner, to that of a more ambitious one. A mother's gentle and sacred influence forming the characters of her household—this is the theme that pervades all the sketches, the thought that shines out in every pleasant or sad recollection of early life. Seldom is her agency, in this respect, adequately appreciated, its power is so quiet in its working. For this very reason it needs to be the more frequently and the more distinctly illustrated. After all that has been written and said upon the subject, few are aware how much the mother always does towards making her children what they become,—fewer still, how much she *can* do to improve or to pervert. Thanks to the author of this work for his valuable contribution, though it is in two or three places marked with exceptionable Orthodox notions. These, however, are incidentally, not

obtrusively, presented; and the general religious tone is worthy of all commendation.

18. Elements of Astronomy, for Schools and Academies, with Explanatory Notes, and Questions for Examination. By John Brockelsby, A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Trinity College, Hartford, &c., &c. Fully Illustrated, &c. New York: Published by Farmer, Brace, & Co., &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 321.

The plan of this work is very different from that of Prof. Loomis's; it being more popular, more superficial, and adapted to a lower range of study. But for the purposes for which it was designed, as specified in the title, we think it the best class-book of Astronomy that we have seen,—clear, though concise, readily understood, well illustrated wherever illustrations were needed, and sufficiently thorough "for schools and academies." Though we agree with the author, that "the hill of science will always be a hill" which can be ascended only with labor, and that it is futile to avoid the difficulties which demand "patient and earnest study," yet the attractiveness of his work, and the facilities it offers for the acquirement of the science, are good recommendations.

19. The Philosophy of Sectarianism; or, a Classified View of the Christian Sects in the United States; with Notices of their Progress and Tendencies. Illustrated by Historical Facts and Anecdotes, &c. By the Rev. Alexander Blakie, Pastor of the Associate Reformed (the first Presbyterian) Church, Boston. Second Edition. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company. 1855. pp. 362.

While looking through this book, we thought it rather amusing, till we saw at the end the recommendations of some Honorable and Reverend gentlemen, who certify that they have profited by the reading of it, and aver that the friends of truth owe much gratitude to the author. Such being the case, it may be worth the while to state that the Philosophy of Sectarianism is in brief this, viz.: that the true Scotch or Irish Presbyterian form of Church economy is the only kind of ecclesiastical regimen under which can be preserved the precious inheritances of downright old Calvinism, the Synagogue sort of public worship, infant-sprinkling, the doctrine of infant-damnation, (p. 231), the death-penalty, &c. With these, our republican goverment also is equally dependent, for its permanence, on the peculiarities of Presbyterianism. Papacy and Episcopacy are of monarchial tendency; Congregationalism is radical and anarchical; Presbyterianism, if of the right old Scotch stamp, holds the *juste milieu*,—the American copies having degenerated.

20. Louis Fourteenth, and the Writers of His Age; being a Course of Lectures delivered (in French) to a Select Audience in New York, by the Rev. J. F. Astié. Introduction and Translation by the Rev. E. N. Kirk. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Company. 1855. 12mo. pp. 413.

The very readable and valuable introduction to this volume contains the following passages: "Our progress in Science has been very respectable, and our progress in the material arts wonderful. The schools are elevating the standard of literature; but our unconcious deficiency is in historical science. Too little zeal seems to be manifested for that knowledge of man, of humanity as a unit, which includes the entire history of civilization, and which is supremely important to us." This Course of Lectures is published as an humble contribution to our stock of knowledge concerning the most brilliant, and, in many respects, most important period, in the history of France. The subjects of the Lectures are the following: The Age of Louis XIV, Pascal's Provincial Letters, Corneille, Fenelon, La Fontaine, Boileau, Racine, Moliere, Pascal's Thoughts. These headings will scarcely indicate to the reader the wide field of observation which is brought under the notice of Mr. Astié. We have read his Lectures with more than ordinary satisfaction. They are very suggestive, marked by a calm and discriminating judgment, unusually free from man-worship, and, by the skill of the translator, clearly and forcibly expressed.

In speaking of the great epochs of human history, Voltaire says: "The thinker, and, what is still more rare, the man of taste, will recognize but four periods of the world's history in which the arts were brought to perfection, and which, serving as epochs of the greatness of the human mind, furnish examples for posterity. The four happy periods are, that of Pericles in Greece; that of Augustus in Rome; that of the Medici in Italy; and that of Louis XIV. in France." Making all necessary allowance for Voltaire's partiality, it must be conceded that the age of Louis XIV. was an extraordinary period. The theory of absolutism had its full developement in "Louis le Grand." Adored by the people for those personal qualities which they admired, and for his entire devotion to the glory of France, his will was felt at the extremities of the nation, and all its resources were open to his view, and subject to his command. That was indeed the culminating period of despotic rule; absolutism was then in the full bloom. We recommend the Augustan Age of France to the reader. It is a valuable work. B.

21. Memoirs of Rev. Edward Mott Woolley. By his Daughter, Mrs. Fidelia Woolley Gillett, assisted by Rev. A. B. Grosh. With an Appendix, containing Selections from his Sermons, &c. Boston: Published by Abel Tompkins, &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 360.

We merely insert the title of this volume, at present, as we hope to receive, in season for our next No., a review of it, from a correspondent who knows well how to sympathize in the filial piety of the author, and to appreciate such a character and experience as are here presented.

Art. XXIII.

Inaugural Address at the Opening of Tufts College, August 22, 1855.

The opening of a new College is one of those occasions that rarely occur. It is an event which probably but few of us have ever attended before to-day.

In these circumstances, it may not be out of place to observe, that the real importance of the present occasion greatly transcends the impression we might receive from the unfinished state of things, which you see, and from the appearances of incompleteness which everywhere surround us on this hill. These are the natural attendants on a beginning. Time and continued effort, it is presumed, will remove what is unseemly at the outset, and supply the appurtenances that are now wanting. It would be doing injustice even to the present, did we not take the future also into view; or rather, did we not embrace in our view the design which is here going on towards fulfilment, as well as the imperfect stage at which the actual execution has arrived. We need not hesitate to say, that amidst these partial and fragmentary preparations, and underneath these usual accompaniments of a holiday,—the bustle and excitement, the curiosity and undefined expectations, which the gathering has called forth,—underneath all these, there lie the elements of a power mightier and wider-reaching in its ultimate developments, than we can at present measure. This is the thought with which I rose to address you. The institution that we are opening to day, if it live and do its work in the world, cannot fail to produce results that may well be called momentous; the more momentous, because the larger part of them lie deep, and out of sight at a superficial view. This institution will very sensibly affect the cause of human culture. It will contribute something towards giving direction to leading minds that shall transact the business of the world. In some degree it will temper the influences that bear sway in all the departments of life. Consider, that whatever power it shall

have, will operate directly on those fountain-heads of civilization, learning, science, and the intellectual progress of society. And all this for ages to come! To-day, it is entering the field to take its share of control among these deep and paramount interests; to act as a new agent in helping to form the genius of our own times, and in guiding the destinies of future generations.

In saying this, we say it in no spirit of assumption or of exclusiveness,—as if we would arrogate the field to ourselves in any such way as to ignore the claims or activities of others. I trust we shall not be suspected of conceitedly overlooking the fact, that the field of liberal education is already occupied—well occupied—by Colleges which have long been in operation, and that the work of which we speak is already prosecuted with success, under their superintendence. By ascribing so great an importance to the present occasion and its prospective consequences, we do not imply that the older Colleges have, in any respect, failed to perform their part faithfully, satisfactorily, honorably. On the contrary, if they had not answered their purpose,—if they had disappointed public expectation,—if they had proved to be inefficient, our College would never have come into existence, for want of any favorable prospect to induce a trial. It was their success that encouraged us. It was the manifest good which they have achieved,—it was the powerful influences which they have so widely exerted, and the satisfaction they have given to all competent judges, that moved us to emulate their example, at humble distance. We cannot but honor them for what they have accomplished; and, if I do not mistake, the enterprise in which we are now engaged is a token of respect the most unambiguous and practical that we could render to their worth.

We are adding one to their number. And we judge of the power which this one will put forth, by the power they have put forth. We estimate its probable results, by what they have done, and are now doing,—making allowance meanwhile for difference in advantages, and dissimilarity of circumstances. And if we look at the matter in this way, through the light of these precedents, which are not likely to deceive, I think we shall see that there is little danger of overrating the importance of the field before us, *even when* we indulge the most enlarged anticipations.

What, then, is the field that a College, in successful operation, occupies? What is the part it performs,—not only within its own walls, but out in the concerns of human life, out among our social interests, and in the progress of the world? To give our survey some order and point, we may contemplate the field in the different departments into which our complex social life is divided, and ask, What does the College actually do in them?—say, in the important province of public education and culture? what does it do in the still more important domain of the Christian ministry and church, in the professions of law and medicine, in political guidance, and in statesmanship, in science, and in literature,—I mean in the several agencies that make up nearly the whole array of moving forces in civilized society,—indeed, that make up our life.

Perhaps we might say, in answer, that the facts the most obvious to a merely casual observer, are, that the College holds quite an honored position, standing at the topmost grade in the ascending series of public educational institutions; that it has charge of giving the highest and most extensive school instruction in learning and science,—puts the finishing hand to these courses; that it makes a multitude of scholars; and yearly sends forth a class of them to act upon the community; that it stamps a valuable reputation on young men who go out into the world, or who enter the professions, as they are called; and finally, that it is a great advantage, in point of social respectability and influence, to have an institution of the kind on one's own side.

No doubt it is. All this is true, unquestionably, so far as it goes. There are far deeper considerations, however, that must be taken into account, if we would lay open the real merits of the case. For ourselves, we would pay but a moderate degree of regard to the circumstance that the College holds a high place of honor in the estimation of the world, or even that it imparts a given amount of knowledge and accomplishments to any select number of persons, if this were all, or the chief, that could be said. The fact that overshadows every thing else with respect to the matter, is this: that the College works out abroad from itself, beyond the circle of its graduates, sending its

energies forth through all other institutions, and down through all classes, even to the most unlettered; transmitting to men everywhere improved forms of intelligence and taste, which the common-sense of mankind appropriates to its use, without knowing or suspecting whence these better elements came. The College is as a vital organ, whose living power is felt through the whole body of society; for the most part unconsciously felt, unnoted, like the force of all vital organs; but, none the less on that account, does it pervade the entire system, and contribute a share of its life to the general mass. It educates and forms not only its own scholars: that is but a small part of what it does; by its indirect and secondary influences, that reach out abroad, it educates and forms, to a certain degree, the community at large. Every one is aware that it stands at the head of some of the most important instrumentalities of civilization. What I would say, is, that in many respects, it acts as a head,—as the head to the body of an individual,—sends a portion of its knowledge, thoughts, and volitions out to the very extremities; and, by hidden nerves and muscles, directs the motions of all the multitudinous members.

To see the correctness of this view, we need but take any of the leading departments of our social life, and trace the workings of the College there. For an example,—One of the institutions the most widely influential on society, is the system of our Common-Schools. In them, the successive generations of our people grow up; in them, they receive nearly all the regular instruction in learning, which the majority ever obtain. Whatever affects them, will sooner or later affect all the people; for all pass through them. They are the nurseries of our future men and women, who will be influenced for life by the elements here acquired. Every family through the length and breadth of our land, has children in them, or has had children in them; and in this way, our Common-Schools act immediately, directly, on every family-circle, from the heart of your great cities out to the farthest log-hut among the mountains. No man can measure the agency they exert, in forming the general mass of intelligence in our country.

But who forms them, and inspires them with this far-

reaching influence? Whence do these elements come? Who devised the system of our Common-Schools, put it in operation, and from time to time improved its character? Who, by their writings, and public lecturing, year after year, through our towns and cities, by their private suggestions, and personal influence, and importunities for legislative enactments, have roused the public, and kept it awake, to the paramount importance of the enterprize? and, this being done, have then proposed the successive forms of organization, and the methods of teaching and discipline, by which our Common-Schools have been gradually brought up to their present state of excellence? Though the people at large have engaged in the execution of these designs, with a readiness that gives them a world-wide honor, yet it is well known that the movers, who have stood at the head of the whole system, have been for the most part liberally educated men, who learned from the experience of their own superior advantages, to appreciate how invaluable to every person is the best instruction which can be given him, and the most thorough learning, that his opportunities will admit of. Let no one fear that I shall disparage the noble part which the uneducated have had in this work. To do so, would be suicidal in one who himself was never a regular graduate, and who therefore feels at liberty to speak the more freely in the case.—I referred to those who moved; to those who drew the designs; who were the informing soul of the undertaking; who gave its character to it; and infused into the system a portion of their own intelligence and power. The intelligence which they brought home to our Common-Schools was that of the College; the power they put forth in the cause, was that which the College gave them. The College is working to-day in every Common-School in New England, from the High-School down to the Primary, helping each to be what it has become, and gradually lifting all to a more elevated plane.

Look into them, as they are scattered in our villages, and over the face of our towns. See the arrangements; see their tables covered with books, their walls hung with maps, their cabinets partially stored with specimens and instruments—the simple apparatus of their studies! By whom were these books written, and these other imple-

ments of their learning constructed? By graduates,—the most of them; and the rest of them, by such as received their impulse and suggestions from the sources which had been laid open by that class. Without the facilities, and general scholarship, and the scientific spirit that flow down to us from those fountain-heads, and pervade all ranks, neither the text-books nor the other means of Common Education would ever have existed, such as they are. Even the teachers, especially of our Normal-Schools, and High-Schools, and Academies, which train and fit the other teachers,—I would ask who they generally are? Graduates again; who transmit the influence of the College to their pupils, and send it out, though in still feebler force, to every master and mistress in the remotest districts of our country. It beats like a pulse through all the arteries and veins of the educational system, giving life and growth and direction to the whole.

And yet this all-pervading process is unnoted; just as healthful organic action is commonly unnoted everywhere. In fact, so little is it ordinarily recognized, that men of considerable shrewdness in certain respects, have sometimes appeared to regard the College rather as a bloated excrescence,—an excrescence of a head, that absorbed the nourishment which ought to be diverted to our Common-Schools; and have counselled accordingly. But certainly a suicidal counsel; to which the old apologue of Menenius Agrippa is more justly applicable than it was to the policy rebuked at *Mons Sacer*, in the Roman history. A sad day will it be to the cause of our Common-Schools, when their interests shall be set in conflict with the interests of the College,—a day of darkness and the shadow of death! Set the welfare of the members against the welfare of the head; and what will ensue! If we could paralyze the College,—or, which is the same thing, if all the intellectual life and direction it is exerting in our Common-Schools, could be withdrawn from them to-day, it would rob them at once of the very excellences, in praise of which the voice of the whole community is now so loud; and in a short time they would die, from the stopping of the wonted circulation by which they have grown up.

A course of remark somewhat similar to the one we have thus followed out, might be pursued with respect to that other Institution, which educates the world in the highest of all its concerns,—I mean the Institution of the Church, including the Sacred Ministry. It is true that the holy influences of the Church and Ministry do not originate in any secular schools; but, for the most part, they pass through them, and are impregnated by them. Speaking in general terms, the form that is given to the prevalent religious doctrines, the dress in which they are clothed, the learning by which they are defended and illustrated, and the rhetoric and logic with which they are urged home on the convictions of people, are to a great extent the product of the College, and of other seminaries integrated with it. Again: from the same sources, more or less remotely, comes a large part of the Religious Literature of the day; which is read in your families, and in all families, and thus dispenses a perpetual ministration of its own, sending out nearly as wide an influence as that of the preacher himself. It is but little else than the College working on the world through this medium. Most of the labored Treatises on Theology, that are held as standard works in their respective communions, and that serve either as directories of faith and practice to millions, or else that serve as stimulants to new thought and research among the leading minds,—are written by men whose power was informed and tempered in academic halls; and the reader who peruses them is unconsciously drinking in, from every page, elements that retain the savor of the schools through which they have passed. Even the uneducated divine, who perhaps thinks himself free from all such influences, is nevertheless guided in his work, to some degree, by that general intelligence and learning, which the same institutions have spread abroad. He is not beyond the charmed circle, though he may think that he is. He reads his very Bible in the Translation that was made by scholars; he relies on the criticism, and philology, and archæology, which the race of liberally educated scholars have furnished, or which they have given him the means of constructing for himself. They are virtually present with him in the whole course of his inquiries, and he uses their aid at every step, even when he is the least conscious of it.

Turn to whatsoever quarter you will of the religious world, you find the College at work there, steadily and universally affecting the results that are obtained! In all our older Denominations of Christians, it has the momentous charge of educating the multitude of preachers and pastors;—a numerous host, who go forth from the College, and, scattered over all the face of the land, become so many radiating points as it were, whence its influence is diffused abroad through their congregations, through the families they visit, and through the parishes and towns where they preside.

We have thus endeavored to trace out the actual operations of this powerful and far-reaching agent, in two of the grand divisions of human concerns: in the system of Common Education or Common-Schools, and in the sphere occupied by the Christian Church and Ministry. It can hardly be needful to proceed farther with this course of illustration. Were we to carry the survey onwards over all the other departments of our social and public life, such as that of law, medicine, the lyceum, the judiciary, civil government,—bringing out distinctly the part that liberal studies perform in each of these,—especially were we to look into their action in the vast provinces of General Literature and Science,—you are already sensible how the matter would at once appear. We should then have a tolerably adequate view of the thousandfold workings of the College, that are constantly going on,—not in one or two departments only,—but in all the governing forces of the world, and in all the choicer, dearer interests of our life.

May I hope that the unfinished survey we have made of the field which it occupies, will serve to impress us more deeply with the importance,—seldom appreciated in full,—the solemn importance of an Institution that acts abroad on so universal a scale. And now, let us keep in mind—let it never be forgotten—that in proportion to the vast extent, and momentous character, of its results, is the responsibility of those who are engaged in establishing it, or in managing its concerns. Let them consider, that their seasonable aid or stinted parsimony in its behalf, is not for a day nor a year, no, nor for any limits of time or space or interests, which mortal man can measure. Their

generous bounty, their wisely directed efforts, their energetic, persevering fidelity to their trust, and the conscientious integrity with which they discharge their respective duties, will be felt in the effects through all the channels of intercourse among men, till time shall be no more.

There is another train of considerations which it may be proper to introduce, as a sequel to what we have said. Important as the part is, that any efficient College performs in the innumerable relations of civilized society at large, it still has a more special agency with respect to the particular community, or body of people, who, in common language, call it their own; among whom it arose, and by whose responsible care it must be, to a considerable extent, sustained. True, it may reasonably hope for a degree of patronage from all quarters, if it have the requisite merit; but then, the old proverb respecting the issue of "everybody's business," holds good here: it must be the immediate charge of some community of persons sufficiently large to supply its wants,—and therefore of some very widely extended community, whose quickened sympathies will not suffer it to dwindle, and whose sense of self-respect is involved in its prosperity. Under the present condition of public sentiment in this country, all institutions of the kind are virtually in charge of some specific denominations, or classes of men, who feel that their own success and reputation are identified with the success and reputation of their respective seats of learning. Our Colleges are not indeed generally sectarian in their regulations and conduct; they cannot very well be so, for any long period; there is something, in the very tendency of liberal studies, opposed to a narrow bigotry. Narrow, clannish prejudices, exclusiveness,—and a liberal course of learning, will always be found irreconcileable. One must kill out the other. And yet, all our Colleges in New England belong to sects, in the unobjectionable sense that we have indicated. Nor does this happen by accident; it does not arise from any fault; it results from the constitution of society among us,—from the paramount sway which the religious element holds, and from the strength of religious organization. Complain of it as much as we please, it is what must be, so long as the subject of reli-

gion continues to maintain the highest place in the conscience of our people, and while they at the same time continue to differ in their views of it.

If we were to overlook this peculiar state of things among us, and view the matter abstractly, without reference to what is practicable under existing circumstances, it might seem, from the considerations we have been illustrating, that there could be no sufficient occasion for opening a new college; since those already in operation act upon the whole mass of society, and diffuse more or less of their benefits universally.—Yes, but so does a preacher, of a village or town, in the same way, act more or less on all the citizens of the place, whether they attend his congregation or not;—probably saves even the non-attendants from complete heathenism at the least. Is it, therefore, never desirable that any other ministry should be opened there, after one has been established? This would be like a great deal of clever logic, that we hear; it may look well enough on paper, but does not answer for practical life,—it is so extremely short-sighted, and so given to culling its premises. Let me ask you to mark that qualifying phrase, "more or less;" more or less of the benefits of those institutions are universally diffused; not their full amount; not so much as is desirable. And, in justice, it must be added, that the portion of these benefits which is thus diffused, necessarily retains the peculiarities of the quarters whence they came, and are, therefore, attended with certain side-influences, that we may think unfavorable to other important interests, and for which we may wish to substitute such as are different. We may desire to have the benefits in a more direct way, and in greater amount, than we can have them without the peculiar side influences.

But there is not time at present, nor is this the occasion, to go into a prolonged exposition of this point. We shall confine our remarks to one general consideration, which will throw light enough on the urgent demand for the movement we have here begun. That class of Christians, at whose desire this institution arose, and under whose auspices it is to fare, *needed* it. They needed it for the improvement of their own body in the higher acquisitions of sound learning; while they wished also to do their

part in the work of public culture at large. Indeed, it was by doing their duty in this respect, by putting forth their activities, and awakening a new interest among themselves, in the general cause of classical and scientific learning, that they hoped to advance their own intellectual condition. For, to this end, it is unquestionable that the most direct, and perhaps the only efficient means, is, some movement that may bring the whole mass of them into combined effort for the cause; and the more such a united action is extended through any community of persons, the more will they themselves share in the benefits which they are laboring to provide for others. The enterprise itself, in which they are engaged, and in which they generously "provoke each other to emulation," animates them with a new spirit, turns their thoughts in a new direction, and opens their minds to influences that played around them before, but never thoroughly penetrated them. This is the way the matter works. It is so in all other enterprises. If we wish, for instance, to promote the cause of religion, or, say, of temperance, among any people, set them to act in it. Do not attempt to make them mere passive recipients of it. Give them something to do for it; and when they begin to exert themselves in combined effort, the cause is felt to be their own, and they are alive with an interest in it, that comes on no other conditions.

It is on this ground, we say, that a College exerts a special force with the particular body of people who call it theirs, and who feel themselves responsible for it, as parents of the child. I mean that it operates among them with greater power than any where else, by virtue of their peculiar sympathies with it; and that it naturally tends to raise the whole mass of them,—not here and there an individual only, but the body of them,—to a higher degree of culture, than they would ever attain without such an institution of their own, as the phrase is commonly used. Let me observe distinctly, that it affects their condition far more intrinsically and vitally, than simply by increasing the number of liberally educated persons among them, and by supplying them with well-prepared candidates, who will reflect honor on them in the several professions, or by giving them a share of the social distinction which their scholars will command for

them. These are, perhaps, about all the advantages often contemplated; and they are by no means small, or unworthy of regard. But I do not in the least disparage them unjustly, when I say that all these partial advantages sink into insignificance, if compared with that elevation of the general tone, that general improvement in intellect and taste, which a College has always been found to work among the people by whom it is created, and sustained, and watched over as a nursling of their affections. It becomes an object of their habitual thought; its business grows to be a matter of interest with them; they acquire some familiarity with its pursuits; they are put in sympathetic communication with it as they never were before; in this way, its light gradually spreads out over the whole extent of their connection, as the reflection from a city on the hill-top, fills the immediate horizon around.

If it were needful to verify the position which we have thus illustrated, I should have only to refer to the experience of every distinct class of people, in this country, who have engaged in the establishing and maintaining of collegiate institutions. I would appeal to the facts as they stand up in the respective histories of our several Denominations of Christians, in relation to this matter,—were it not that such an appeal might be too delicate a one to manage, without incurring the suspicion of an invidiousness that I do not feel. Suffice it to say, that if you retrace the experience, or history, of any of these bodies, you will find that, so long as they took no part in the labor, and expense, and responsibility, of furnishing the means of liberal education, but rested idly on the sacrifices that others were making for the purpose, they fell behind in the general march of intellectual progress, as it was just that they should do. They may not have absolutely retrograded, in this respect; they may even have advanced beyond the stage at which they began,—dragged sluggishly onward by the set of the universal tide; but, relatively, they receded, by not keeping pace with those around them. The distance between them and others, grew greater and more noticeable, and more remarked upon. While their numbers, perhaps, multiplied, and their means accumulated, and the de-

mands, which both God and the world made upon them, increased with their increasing capabilities, they still seemed to be losing their hold on the more cultivated classes, and to be sinking down in the scale of mental power. Nor was this the worst fruit of their inertness. Evils of a moral nature sprang up. For in such a case as theirs, a multitude of consequences would come in to irritate them, and make them jealous. Their inexcusable backwardness in the cause of sound learning could not but alienate those among them who strove for the higher walks of science and literature, and who found no congenial tastes prevailing where they were brought up. Somehow, there seemed to be an enormous sieve steadily at work among them, screening out their more gifted young men, and their more aspiring families; and human patience could hardly endure this. It was natural that they should grow fretful; it was natural that they should give way to decrying the attainments and advantages which they lacked,—*more vulpis apud uvas.* Such, in brief, is the history of all those bodies, up to the periods when they began to do their long neglected duty to themselves and the world. The favorable change which has invariably taken place among them, as, one after another, they reached that transition-point, is too well known to need recapitulation.

I now leave to your own consideration the field which the College occupies in the general interests of human society; together with the special influence it exerts on the particular community that is the most forward to sustain it. I submit the whole, without any further practical application; believing that the facts we have aimed to present, will, of themselves, speak to all hearts with a stronger emphasis than that of words. May they be sanctified to all, and particularly to those who are engaged in the enterprise this day publicly consecrated.

On such an occasion as the present, it may be expected that something will be said respecting the internal economy of this College,—the methods of instruction that will be pursued here, and the objects that will be aimed at. But, in these respects, there is nothing peculiar to be noted; and the topic at large would open so wide a field that it

is necessary to decline entering upon it at this late hour. I will only mention three things, by way simply of specification:

First; we are sensible that one of the prime requisites to excellence in any branch of learning to which we shall attend, is thoroughness; thoroughness in the elements, thoroughness in every successive stage, as far as the study shall be carried. And this, not only for the sake of sound scholarship as distinguished from smattering, but for the sake also of the mental habits in general, that are to be formed by the discipline. We cannot lay too great a stress on this point. Where "thoroughness" ceases to be practicable, let the study be dropped.

Secondly; we are persuaded that all scholastic instruction ought to be conducted with a reverent eye to the methods which our Creator has instituted, in Nature and Providence, for the education of our race. For, the whole business of life from the cradle to the grave may be expressed in one word,—Education. It begins with the first breath; it is suspended only with the access of utter insensibility. This world, if we consider it attentively, is found to be but a vast seminary, with infinite apparatus of natural objects above and below,—with unnumbered problems of doubt to be solved,—with difficulties on the one hand, facilities on the other, dangers, calamities, successes, joys and sorrows, as our Schoolmasters; and with thousandfold influences that try us in every possible direction, to draw forth our capabilities, and to form us into a self-governed organism of regulated forces. And the processes of a more artificial kind, which we follow out in Schools, should evidently be but the sequel to the natural course. The principles on which they are conducted should be the same; and the results obtained should be rectified from their subtle aberrations, by constantly comparing them with the facts of the existing world, and with the judgments of common sense. In this way, we save the scholar from the flightiness and extravagances, to which the unguided speculation of our age is so prone.

Thirdly, Religious Influences. There does not seem to be any room for doubt, whether these should pervade a College, and indeed all places of Education. If we

have a Father in heaven, on whom we are dependent, it is plain that our natural or normal sphere is one of filial subordination to Him,—like that of children in a family. And our characters, intellectual as well as moral, cannot be properly formed, but under the habitual sense of the sacred relation in which we exist. If we are not self-existent, if we are created beings, living under the dominion of a Supreme Lawgiver and Judge, whose authority presses upon us, and shuts us in on every side, there cannot be, in the nature of things, any healthful discipline, or any development fitted to our state, without the moral consciousness of this pressure; just as the pressure of the surrounding atmosphere is necessary to our physical well-being. It is what we must have in both cases. And the absurdity,—I mean the natural absurdity,—of thinking to succeed by placing us under an *exhausted receiver* as it were, is as gross in the one case as in the other. To the full extent that the student values even a well-developed intellect, let him cherish a sense of that Omnipresence "in whom he lives, moves, and has his being." Above all things, as he values the moral integrity of his character, let him see to it that he does not "live without God in the world." And let all who take the responsible office of instructors remember how much depends on their example and personal influence, in this respect.

And now, at the close of these public solemnities, in the fear and love of God, we consecrate this New College to his glorious service, in the educating and harmonious unfolding of the noblest powers he has bestowed upon his creatures. We humbly look to Him for his acceptance of this College, and for his blessing upon it to these ends. We consecrate it to the work of instruction in sound learning and science, under the influence of Christian principles. We dedicate it and its appurtenances to the service of you, Young Gentlemen, who have entered here to begin your collegiate course, with the beginning of the Institution itself,—including with you your successors in all time to come. We have honored it with the name of its noble and generous Founder, whom we have the happiness to see among us to-day, but who is shut out from the sound of our voices. May it bear his memory down,

with increasing respect, to the remotest ages; and be his conspicuous monument, when these heights, now bare, shall realize the character of Academic Shades. We would gladly inscribe also, on some of its Departments, the name of its principal Contributor; and, should he continue to decline the publicity as yet, we leave it in charge to our successors, to do justice to a liberality so munificent, and to a prompt attendance so untiring. And finally, we dedicate it as a lasting memorial of its agent, who has labored for so many years in its behalf; and as a perpetual remembrancer of all its Benefactors, far and near. H. B. 2d.

Art. XXIV.

Hildreth's History of the United States.

The History of the United States of America, by Richard Hildreth. In six volumes. 8vo. Revised Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1854.

An ingenious writer in one of the foreign Reviews,[1] in discussing "the use and meaning of history," denies that it has any power to teach truth. The moralist, the philosopher, and the statesman, as such, can learn from history nothing whatever. In no instance has it taught what is good, what is true, or what is wise. Not merely a chief use, but the *sole* use of history, is the portrayal of "personal character in conflict with the circumstances of life," with a view to "toning and nerving the heart to noble emotions"—the raising and sustaining a "love of what is good"—a "condition of pure and elevated feeling, in which, irrespective of consequences, human things and human actions are seen and weighed at their just and real value." In the simple improvement of the heart, and in no respect the informing of the understanding, does history find its exclusive use.

[1] The Westminster Review for October, 1854, Article IV.

As a sort of compensation for thus narrowing the sphere of its utility, we are virtually assured, that it seems quite unnecessary that history should teach truth—it does not appear that any good would be secured, even if it could and did inform the understanding! History is good for nothing, except as it pictures personal character; and, in doing this, all that is required is, that it shall be true to "the conditions of humanity." In selecting material for the portrait, it would seem to be quite immaterial whether the artist made use of fact or fiction!

The argument by which it is attempted to sustain this unwelcome theory, if it does not convince, is certainly perplexing. History is made to testify against itself; and the position, that men have been noblest and best, not when they have had truth, but rather when they have put implicit faith in error, and very absurd error at that, is seemingly sustained by an array of facts quite surprising. We are reminded of the circumstance that "the beautiful cultivation of the Greeks," and "the iron nerve and austere virtue of the Romans," were the direct results of belief in mythologies, which are now justly "the laughing-stock of school-boys." As an instance in point—while the Roman character, after the terrible defeat at Cannæ, gave evidence of its noble heroism, by selling at auction, in the Forum, and at its full value, the very ground on which the victorious enemy were encamped, "the State was sentencing the consul Flaminius to death, because he had thrown the sacred chickens into the lake Thrasymene; and these two actions, (it is further affirmed,) so strangely opposite in form, were linked together in inseparable unity in the Roman heart; they were the outcome of the same faith; both fruits were growing on the same tree." "Greece fell as soon as Greece had exchanged its faith for a philosophy. Rome accepted her philosophy, and followed her in her ruin. Truth entered, and virtue died." The strange, yet obvious inference would seem to be, that history can teach no truth, and that it is well that it cannot do so; for error rather than truth appears to be conducive to manly feeling, and true nobility of character!

In attempting to extricate ourselves from the folds of this logic, we will take no advantage of the paradox—conceded by the writer to be such—of first affirming that

history, as testifying to truth, is good for nothing, and then using it to testify to a theory, which it shocks our best sensibilities to accept. The writer, at first view, seems to sustain his affirmation, that history is of no use in teaching the understanding truth, and that it is full better for the world that it cannot do so. If, however, we test his use of the word truth, especially if when he speaks of teaching truth we notice within what narrow limits he comprises all possible methods of teaching truth—we think no necessity will appear, either for accepting his affirmation, or the theory by which it is attempted to reconcile us to it.

We are glad to admit, not indeed that the sole use, but certainly one of the highest uses of history—we may perhaps say, its chief use—is in such a portrayal of personal character, as, in touching "those emotional links of sympathy, by which the members of the family of mankind are connected one with another," will most effectually call up in the heart noble emotions, and thereby lead to manly and heroic virtue. But let us ask, is not this teaching truth? and is it not teaching, by the surest and most effective of all methods? Perhaps it must be admitted, that history cannot furnish the understanding with "definite rules and propositions," but rules and propositions are only *forms* of truth; and because history cannot teach truth in certain forms (admitting that it cannot do so,) does it thence follow that it cannot teach truth at all, in any form? Perhaps it must be admitted that history cannot directly inform the understanding—in other words, that its method of teaching is not didactic or preceptive. But is there but one way of teaching truth? Is the sole method of reaching the understanding, preceptive and direct? On the contrary, we contend that the very best way of informing the understanding is indirect, is through the heart. Indeed, we may say, that the highest qualities of truth can be communicated to the understanding by no other than this indirect process. We are told that the use of history, is not to make us "*know* what is good, but to *love* what is good." Just as if there could be a surer way—just as if there could be any other way, of making men know what is good, than by making them love goodness! It is true, there may be a metaphysical difficulty

in any attempt so to distinguish the different provinces of the understanding and the heart as to assign to each its peculiar process in the mutual work of apprehending truth. In point of fact, the two faculties, (if such we may call them,) do not appear to be anywhere separated by a very sharp line of demarkation. Man is one, and heart and intellect are blended in conscious unity; and in this unity, there appears to be a simultaneous action of both powers, when truth is attained. Yet, so far as the operations of the heart may be distinguished from the operations of the understanding, so far may it be affirmed, that the highest quality of truth reaches the understanding only through the heart. To say, therefore, that history moves the one with a love of truth, is to say that it can inform the other with a knowledge of truth.

Gladly admitting that history finds a use in calling up noble feeling in the heart, we *therefore* affirm, that it also finds a use in informing the understanding. What the writer we have noticed severs as radically different things, indeed even as incompatible things, we link together as cause and effect—as successive links in the same chain of development. We affirm that history both inspires a love of what is good and imparts a knowledge of what is good; and that it imparts this knowledge *because* it inspires—by inspiring—this love. We affirm that history informs the understanding, because it fulfils the prerequisites of such a result—by inciting in the heart those emotions which are the root, the very life-blood of the truth, as it exists in the understanding. How illogical then to suggest even the possibility that faith in truth ever has proved, or can prove, detrimental to human character! Worse than this: for if the love of what is good, and the knowledge of what is true, are, in human experience, found to be necessarily connected—connected as cause and effect—if they are but successive steps in the same general process,—to suggest that, in any case, the one may prove detrimental to the other—the presence of the one implying the absence of the other,—is to suggest an absurdity—a contradiction in terms.

It will avail nothing against us here, to refer us to the experience of the ancient Greek and Roman—an experience in which belief in error is found in connexion with

beautiful culture and manly virtue, and in which the exchange of error for truth was attended with the loss of culture and virtue. It is at least possible that the apparent incongruity in the faith and character of this remote age, can be shown to be *only* apparent. Let it be admitted that the mythologies which received the belief of the cultivated Greek and heroic Roman, and which are now the laughing-stock of school-boys, were, in their simply objective character, very absurd—does it follow that *as believed in* by Greek and Roman, they were so very absurd? May they not have been connected, in the believing mind, with great truths, with the inspiring principles of virtue and heroism—connected with them as embodying or symbolizing them? And may not the character which is so justly the theme of eulogy, have been the result, not of faith in the incongruous symbol, but in the truth symbolized? Nor need it excite any marvel, should it appear that in passing from erroneous forms which yet symbolized truth, to truthful forms, the Greek and Roman mind lost the truth it had before cherished. Unfortunately, these truthful forms were the product of almost exclusive intellectual culture. And an age in which intellect alone is worshipped, so far from being inconsistent with the loss of virtue and manly heroism, is, in fact, a sign and cause of this loss. When all the forces of the soul are drawn from the channel of manly action, to invigorate and sustain mere intellectual discipline, though a philosophy beautiful and profound may be developed, manly and heroic character, bereft of the vital element which alone can energize and perfect it, must wither and die. When the Greek and Roman exchanged their faith for a philosophy, may it not have been, that they exchanged error symbolizing truth, for truth symbolizing error?

This explanation of the incongruity in the faith and character of the ancient people, to whose experience we have been referred—though we deem it a rational one, and in accordance with known experience—we do not offer with dogmatic assurance. We do not offer it as removing the incongruity, but as showing that it can be removed—as showing, at least, that the asserted possibility of its removal involves no absurdity, no contradiction. And surely we shall not set aside a conviction rooted in

instinct and sustained by present experience, because of any incongruity attending a remote experience—an incongruity, too, which cannot be admitted real without implying absurdity, and which may be disposed of as only apparent by an explanation at once simple, rational, and in accordance with present human experience.

Returning to the position, that history finds a chief use in the portrayal of personal character in connexion with the realities of life, the question may be asked, Wherein is history better than fiction? Provided the portraits of fiction are equally true to "the conditions of humanity," why are they not as good as the portraits of history? The answer is, The portraits of fiction cannot, from the nature of the case, be equally true to the conditions of humanity. The writer of history has this material advantage over the writer of fiction,—the materials which he is to mould into personal character are made to his hand—are made by nature itself, and hence are so far perfectly true to the conditions of humanity. But the writer of fiction must invent his materials; and though in this work of invention he may copy or imitate nature, yet his materials are only imitations; and imitations of nature, however excellent, can never equal nature.

And here we have an opportunity to state, in a word, the reason why history should be honestly written—written with scrupulous fidelity to the facts. The use of history requires the portrayal of personal character; and the peculiar advantage of the writer of history is, that, having actual and therefore natural experiences to work upon, he has so far a guarantee that the portraits he pictures shall be perfectly natural. Of course, then, if he alters his facts, he so far destroys his peculiar advantage as an historian. If he mutilates, glosses over, colors, puts in false relations, garbles, in any way tampers with the materials which human experience has furnished him, the portraits he presents will be correspondingly false—false, not alone to fact, (which, of itself, might be comparatively immaterial,) but false to "the conditions of humanity"—false to nature itself—false to that which alone secures to history its chief use in elevating the heart and informing the mind. It may be an amiable weakness which tempts the historian to suppress, or in some way alter the com-

plexion of an unexpected and painful fact—a fact that reveals a blemish in the character of his hero, and which he cannot honestly state without great pain to the reader, whose idol is thereby proved to be fallible. It requires unusual courage and the greatest reverence for truth to record the real fact, just as it is, without other palliation or excuse than what the circumstances of the time and place justify. Yet he who has not this courage and this reverence for truth—who is not ready to incur odium, if need be, in fidelity to facts which men, blind to the imperfections of their idols, are unwilling to hear—is utterly incompetent so to write history as to secure its chief use. This use, requiring the faithful portrayal of personal character, can be secured only on condition that the plain truth be spoken, let who will suffer, let who will complain.

It remains that we add a word in stating the principle—the law of human development, whereby history, in its exhibitions of personal character, does the work we have attributed to it. And here we are brought directly to the statement, which, though repeated till it sounds commonplace, contains a most profound meaning,—that it is not by inculcating abstractions, however excellent, that the mass of human beings can be greatly improved. Doubtless there are some souls so susceptible to salutary impressions, with whom the course of well-doing is so nearly spontaneous, that the most formal statement of an ethical rule or precept suffices to call up within them the appropriate feeling. Such souls, however, are rare exceptions to the general make of human nature. With most persons, truth and wisdom must come not alone in verbal forms, but in *the forms of men*—not alone by didactic methods, but in the way of personal examples. The salutary maxim must be presented as a living energy; the divine principle must be vitalized in human character; the word must be made flesh. The very soul that remains listless and cold under the formal, preceptive inculcation of the most inspiring truth, will start into life and fill with emotion when the very same truth finds its way to him, not in its isolated, abstract form, but in the presence of the *man* in whose character it has found an embodiment. To teach such a soul goodness, it is necessary to present *it, not* rules of goodness, but good men. The bond

of sympathy which connects one human being with another, makes even the silent presence of one who has appropriated knowledge or goodness as a living, ruling force, a hundred-fold more instructive to the mass of men than even the clearest preceptive teaching can possibly be. The truth which swells his soul, flashes from his eye, radiates from his countenance, and reveals itself in the mere intonation of his voice,—his whole mien, his simple walk and gesture, become communicative. Even the touch of his garment reveals a knowledge that no verbal definition could make clear. Of course the same general principle holds, whether the character presented be one of virtue or vice, of wisdom or folly. True, the incongruous mixtures in which the different shades of character are often found, may sometimes confuse a beholder, and the good by glossing over serve to insinuate the evil; yet when faithfully presented, without disguise or coloring, the picture of an evil character will as naturally inspire a hatred of evil, as that of a good character will inspire a love of goodness.

Now it is this communicative bond, which, as we have seen, makes the presence of any human being a revealer and inspirer of his own nobility, when his character is noble,—and for the same reason, an occasion of disgust, when his character is ignoble,—that gives the writer of history his great opportunity as the elevator and educator of his fellow men; for it is his especial business to present, not ethical rules and maxims of wisdom—which, as may be admitted, are comparatively unimportant—but to present human character—to present *men* in whom virtue or vice, wisdom or folly, have a living, incarnate expression. He can do better than recommend heroism by analyzing it and expatiating on its excellence—he can portray heroes. He can do better than excite detestation of treachery by unfolding its atrocity and warning men to shun it—he can present an Arnold. He can do better than inspire a pure patriotism, an unselfish love of country, by explaining wherein it is noble and by appealing to men to cherish it as a manly virtue—he can present a Washington. Thus can he constantly act on human sympathy, and awakening manly and heroic feeling, imparting a knowledge of what is manly and heroic, develope among

his fellows true greatness of character. Thus doing, will he secure to history, not, as we must think, its sole use, not perhaps even its principal use, but certainly one of the highest benefits it is possible to bestow on human beings.

The train of thought, which we trust is now clearly brought out, we have felt at liberty to pursue at the greater length, as it enables us to present, better than we otherwise could do, the distinctive merit of the work named at the head of this article. We shall not claim for Mr. Hildreth that his history fully reaches the high ideal which we have aimed to express; yet we may say, that of all authors who have attempted any thing like a complete American history, he is the only one who appears to recognize this ideal. In assigning his work its place among other American histories, we must use words of contrast, rather than of comparison. His history is not merely unlike, but *essentially* unlike, any other. Agreeing with his predecessors in the details of his narrative,—and, so far as different authors go over the same ground, they must, of course, describe the same events,—the spirit and purpose of his work give to it a character quite peculiar. Some important particulars wherein this statement holds, will appear as we proceed.

The tendency so strong in human nature to invest the founders of a state with mythic excellence, and which in the legends of ancient Greece and Rome, and even Britain, has given such marvellous indications of its inventive power, has been busy with our own history—brief as this history comparatively is. In the popular mind, the founders of this nation, its revolutionary heroes, and even the framers of the present form of government have, in a greater or less measure, lost their characters as men, and are looked upon as a superior kind of beings. It requires no little moral courage to venture even the suspicion, that they were merely human beings, and hence fallible, erring, and even sinning,—that they were simply men, having the infirmities, the passions, jealousies, rivalries, and other imperfections which uniformly characterize the experience of "poor human nature." Possessing in an extraordinary degree the faculty which in the mixture of the

fabulous and the real distinguishes the probable from the improbable, and animated by a pure love of truth, Niebuhr, separating the legendary from the actual, presented Roman history in an essentially new aspect. Imbibing his spirit, Grote has done a similar service to the history of ancient Greece. Mr. Hildreth is the Niebuhr of American history. We open his pages and are delighted to find ourselves in the company of human beings. His whole work gives the best internal evidence of its essential truthfulness. Even though we had no other means of testing his accuracy, the probability of the events which he narrates, and the naturalness of the characters which he personates, show that he has neither invented his facts nor put them in deceptive relations. His "personal portraits" are seen at a glance to be true to "the conditions of humanity."

Mr. Hildreth's History of the United States appears in two series—the first series presenting, in three volumes, the colonial and revolutionary periods; the second series presenting, in three more volumes, the period subsequent to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, up to the close of Munroe's first presidential term in 1821. The whole work thus embraces the course of American history for about two hundred and thirty years, dating from the discovery of Columbus in 1492. No other history, aiming at any thing like completeness, covers so great a length of time; and particularly so far as regards the revolutionary and subsequent periods, no other single work makes any approach to it in amplitude of detail, and thoroughness of treatment.

Mr. Hildreth's first volume opens with a chapter on the voyages of discovery, which, under the patronage mostly of England, France and Spain, conducted by such hardy adventurers as the Cabots, Cartier and De Soto, made the shores of America almost familiarly known to Europe. The characteristics of the aboriginal inhabitants are described in a brief, yet compact chapter. The various attempts at colonization by rival nations, and also by individuals—attempts of which few were successful, most were disastrous, and all extremely hazardous, and in which such heroes as Gilbert lost their lives, Raleigh their fortunes, and Captain John Smith gained enduring fame—are described with a graphic pen. As we proceed, we are

successively made acquainted with the efforts of French Huguenots in Carolina, English adventurers in Virginia, Dutchmen in New Netherlands, Puritans in Massachusetts, and Catholics in Maryland. Especial prominence being given, and justly, to the affairs of Virginia and New England, the varying and doubtful fortunes of the colonies are detailed up to the accession of a Catholic king in England, in the person of James the Second, in the year 1685—an event which brought on a crisis in colonial affairs, and threatened the extinction of popular liberty in the new world.

Interspersed through the second volume, and in the proper connections, are further accounts of colonization, particularly in Carolina, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and Georgia. The arbitrary schemes of king James and his officials, greatly distressing the colonies in New England and New York, awakening universal indignation, and in some instances provoking open rebellion, are described in fitting terms. Full justice is done the suffering heroism of the French Jesuits in exploring the regions of the great lakes and the Mississippi. The events of the four inter-colonial wars, scattered over a period of about seventy years, commencing with the accession of William and Mary, in 1688, and ending with the death of George the Second, in 1760—wars having their origin chiefly in the rival territorial claims of France, England, and Spain, and partly in the unrelenting hatred of the Indians, (for most part towards the English, whose outrages had provoked a revenge which French emissaries used every art to stimulate)—are given in chronological order. In connection with the events of the wars, the early contemporary matters, such as the Salem Witchcraft, the development of colonial trade and commerce, the troubles growing out of paper-money schemes, and the African slave-trade, receive due attention. Considerable space is deservedly given to the operations of the last of the inter-colonial wars, usually called "the French war," which ended in the conquest of Canada by the united arms of England and the colonies,—a struggle of momentous importance, being that, which, besides incidently sowing the seeds of the coming revolution, disciplined, *in good* part, the soldiers who were to fight in the war for

independence, and gave America her Washington who was to lead them to victory.

The closing chapters of the second volume, and the opening chapters of the third, are chiefly filled with accounts of the schemes of parliament to tax the colonies. This prophetic period, ever associated in history with fruitless efforts to enforce the tea-tax and the stamp act—measures which, in parliament, moved the indignant eloquence of Pitt, Barre, and Burke, names ever to be cherished by lovers of liberty, and which, in America, brought into the foreground such sturdy patriots as Hancock, Otis, and Adams—our author describes in a style which rises with his theme. The revolutionary war, which the tyranny of parliament brought upon the colonies, and which resulted in the acknowledgment of their independence by the mother country, occupies the main bulk of the third volume—the most thorough, and we have no doubt the most impartial history of that trying struggle, yet written by a single author. Full particulars are given of the fresh trials, which followed the peace—trials having their chief origin in the emptiness of the federal treasury, and which, showing themselves in the discontent and mutiny of the unpaid soldiers, threatened the very existence of the States.

Mr. Hildreth's account of the convention called to frame a federal constitution, we regard the ablest portion of his history,—certainly, the graphic style in which he has portrayed the almost superhuman difficulties which constantly impeded, and nearly baffled the labors of that convention—difficulties having their origin mainly in local jealousies, motives of personal aggrandizement, and tricks of reckless and evil-minded men, and which, though finally surmounted, proved to the patriots of the time, the occasion of constant anxiety, not unfrequently bordering on despair—will ever secure for his work a classic reputation. Recording the acceptance of the new constitution by the great majority of the States, detailing the elections under the new form of government, and sketching the closing labors of the continental congress, he brings to a close the colonial and revolutionary periods of his history.

It is difficult to give an intelligible sketch of the plan of the second series of Mr. Hildreth's volumes, without intro-

ducing a greater number of matters than our limited space will permit; for as the period embraced is comparatively very brief, numerous particulars touching the nature and administration of the government are presented with great fulness of detail; and it seems impossible to make any selection that will give even a general idea of the course of events. Driven by this difficulty to be the more general in our statements, we can hope to present, at best, but a very vague notion of the volumes of which we are now called upon to speak. We may state in this connection, that in regard to the period of history which we are now to consider, Mr. Hildreth is almost a pioneer. No other author has attempted a labored and consecutive account of the events and personages of the period succeeding the adoption of the federal constitution. It may also be observed that the style of the new series is far more flowing and animated than that of the one already sketched—the briefness of the period sketched permitting the writer to keep the persons of his narrative longer before the reader's eye, and to present a more complete personation of those emotional qualities which always give spirit and movement to historical discourse. Readers who, without perceiving this cause, complain that much of the first series is cold and inert, will express surprise in view of the freshness and feeling which characterize the succeeding volumes.

The fourth volume of the entire history, (and the first of the second series,) is wholly devoted to the administration of Washington. This is the tender period of our history as an independent nation. The machinery of the state was then to be put in motion. The methods of administration were mostly new and untried. Nearly every measure was an experiment. Not having the settled usage of habit, always indispensable to secure the easy operation of government, the management of public affairs necessarily seemed artificial, and was often not a little awkward. The emergencies incidental to the nation's progress had to be met without experience, and were often such as to confuse the wisest heads. The truth of this statement appears, as one occasion after another called for the action of the government, on such questions as the revenue, the judiciary, the adjustment of

foreign relations, and the matters of finance and banking. We of to-day, accustomed to look upon the various operations of the government as something almost spontaneous, can with difficulty appreciate the obstacles which hindered its working during its infancy. It seems an open question, whether Washington exhibited more prudence and judgment in conducting the revolution to a successful issue, than in guiding the ship of state safely through channels so intricate and almost wholly unexplored. It is painful to be compelled to add, that faction and intrigue did their worst to aggravate his trials, by seeking to destroy the general confidence in the purity of his motives. Party spirit very naturally came up during this unsettled period; and on the retirement of Washington, two great parties, the federal and the republican, divided the politics of the nation.

American history, during the presidential terms of Adams and Jefferson—the events of which fill Mr. Hildreth's fifth volume—exhibits in a pre-eminent degree the rivalry, and too often the bitterness of party-politics. Hardly any measure of the government was viewed with chief regard to its intrinsic character, but rather as it bore on the operation of party tactics—a statement which, indeed, holds, in some measure, of all periods in the progress of popular governments, but having especial application to the period under notice. The single term of Adams's administration found its chief employment in managing the difficulties with France; which nation, then in the hands of the Directory, intoxicated with the victories of Bonaparte, had grown insolent with success, and was committing depredations on American commerce. The utmost skill and energy of the president—in which qualities, particularly the latter, he was by no means lacking—were called forth to maintain the nation's honor in the trying emergency. Factions, and intriguing opposition to these patriotic endeavors, greatly embittered his sensitive spirit; the more so, as this opposition came, for most, from persons, many of them foreigners, in the interest of France, and whose arts, in playing upon the gratitude of the American people, (a gratitude contracted by the timely services of this power during the revolution, and which had not been effaced by subsequent acts of

atrocity,) were but too successful. The alien and sedition laws had their origin in the emergencies attending this peculiar form of resistance to the administration—measures, doubtless unwise, which have ever since been the theme of ignorant vituperation, and which, at the time, proved the occasion of successful opposition.

How far Mr. Hildreth is successful in his evident intention to portray the administration of Jefferson with strict impartiality, we are incompetent to decide. Certain it is, that his account of the policy of that extraordinary man,—reflecting, as it does, upon the purity of his motives and the general high-mindedness of his character,—will bring against him the charge of prejudice and a purpose to tarnish unjustly a splendid name; and this, too, notwithstanding his numerous extracts from the contemporary writers, have at least every appearance of conclusiveness, in support of his statements. We are confident that Mr. Hildreth has conscientiously labored to present a truthful picture of the time; and the facts as he has grouped them abundantly confirm the statement, that while the election of Jefferson was the downfall of the federalists, their general line of policy was not materially changed. There were, indeed, changes in form, as, for instances, in the repeal of the federal judiciary act, and the internal taxes; yet the republican party found its only safety in acting on the principle of assuming federal power as emergencies seemed to justify,—a principle, which, while out of power it had most pertinaciously denounced as pregnant with danger to the republic. In one instance, in particular, that of the purchase of Louisiana, the principle was carried beyond all federal precedent, and to an extent since acknowledged to be unconstitutional. To the time of Jefferson belong many exciting events in our history: such, for instance, as the Tripolitan war, the fatal quarrel, having a national importance, between Hamilton and Burr, the Burr conspiracy, the abolition of the foreign slave-trade, and the ominous question of the impressment of American seamen by British crusiers. To all of these and kindred particulars our author has given laborious attention, producing a series of sketches having more than the interest of romance.

The last volume of Mr. Hildreth's history is mainly devoted to topics directly and indirectly connected with the origin and progress of the last war with Great Britain, closing with a sketch of the first term of Monroe's administration,—the most tranquil period, considered as a whole, in our national experience. Our author does not belong to that class of historians, unfortunately too large, who, keenly relishing the excitement and vain-glory of the battle-field, find their chief inspiration in portraying scenes of carnage. Giving statement to every material fact in the naval and military exploits of the war with England, and doing ample justice to the heroism which those sanguinary trials developed,—not, however, hiding from view or explaining away, instances in which this very popular quality appears to have been wanting,—the causes of the war, immediate and incipient, bringing into view the spirit and policy of the party in power, occupy a large yet not undue proportion of the volume. Mr. Hildreth's account of these causes differs essentially from the impression that has gained popular acceptance. He does not hesitate to trace the chief of these causes to the popular hatred of Great Britain, born with the revolution and exasperated by the acts of the republican leaders, of whom Jefferson was the chief,—a state of feeling which, afterwards, under the administration of Madison, which our author regards as feeble, vacillating, and yielding, enabled a war-faction to get control of the party in power, and force the government into a declaration of hostilities. The pretence that the war was intended to resist British impressments of American seamen, naturally taking a strong hold on the popular impulse, he terms an afterthought,—a pretence invented to retain the popularity of the dominant party, whose hold on the popular regard was in danger of being broken by the humiliating results of the opening campaign. Besides, such a pretence came with an ill-grace from persons who had winked upon far more provoking aggressions when committed by France, and who, during the presidency of Adams, had resisted the efforts of the federalists to compel this power to respect the rights of American commerce. A less scrupulous author, anxious not to provoke popular censure, would have withheld, at least qualified the facts,

touching the humiliating terms on which the American commissioners at Ghent, were compelled to sign the articles of peace. Finding that Great Britain, instead of making concessions, was disposed to make fresh exactions, "they seemed to esteem it a triumph to be allowed to stop where they were when they began, leaving the whole question of impressments and neutral rights, the sole ostensible occasion of the war, without a word said upon the subject to be settled at some more convenient opportunity."

The first presidential term of Monroe marks the close of an epoch in our national progress. Party spirit had measurably declined, and party divisions became nearly extinct. New issues, embraced in such questions as the national bank, internal improvements, and tariff regulations, prepared the way for new political organizations. Among the important measures of this period, were the accession of the territory of Florida, and the admission into the union of the new States of Maine and Missouri. With the admission of Missouri, a new epoch opens. The slave-interest had gained a victory, and established a precedent. The incipient step was taken in that infamous career, in the course of which it now — in perfect consistency, it must be admitted, with its heaven-defying principles—treads under foot its most solemn pledges; and, in the persons of ruffian invaders, seeks to establish its dominion on the very soil, which in the very terms of the Missouri compact it had forever promised to freedom. Says Mr. Hildreth, in his closing period, "It is from this point,"—the triumph of slavery in the admission of Missouri as a slave state,—"already beginning to fade away in the distance, that recent American politics take their departure."

We have already indicated the spirit in which the volumes—a meagre sketch of which we have now presented—is written. Its distinctive merit, as we have said, is, that it presents the personages of American history, not in the mythic and superhuman character with which indiscriminate eulogy has so long invested them, but in their real character as men,—men "made like unto their brethren," having and displaying the infirmities which uniformly attach to all fallible mortals. Their vices and virtues,

their ignoble and heroic qualities are portrayed with equal impartiality. Hence, we have no fine-spun theories to cover the narrowness of view, the harshness of judgment, and the implacable intolerance, which mark the annals of the puritan period. The banishment of Baptists, and the whipping and hanging of Quakers, bring out the candor of the historian, but do not move his ingenuity in the way of apology. And in this particular, the puritans themselves, could they have foreseen the labors of Mr. Hildreth, would—unlike too many of their admiring posterity—have thanked him for his fidelity. Toleration, with them, was the most damnable of heresies; and the suspicion that any narrator of their transactions might, at some future period, make apologies for their want of such a trait of character, would have filled them with horror. Let us add, the treachery which moved the undying revenge of the aborigines, leading to the most bloody and painful episodes of the colonial history, is described without terms of extenuation.

That portion of the history which relates to the revolution is equally impartial. The lagging zeal with which so many of the colonies responded to the declaration of independence; the niggard appropriations to meet the exigencies of the war; the extreme difficulty in procuring enlistments; the sectional jealousies which distressed and reduced the army of Washington, and moved his soul almost to despair;—all these matters are detailed without any trick to hide or pervert the humiliating facts. An historian, whose anxiety not to wound the ill-grounded patriotic pride of his countrymen exceeded his love for simple truth, would have found no place for the fact, that on the very morning of the battle of Behmus' Heights—a most important engagement, and the precursor of the surrender of Burgoyne—the very soldiers who had won the victory of Bennington, taking advantage of the circumstance that their term of enlistment expired that day, refusing the most urgent entreaties, marched off for their homes, leaving their comrades in arms to the uncertainties and perils of the coming conflict. Our author's fearless candor will not permit him to hide the real truth, that while the success of the revolution is mainly due to the prudence and disinterested patriotism of the noble com-

mander-in-chief, and to the devotion to the cause of American independence which really animated the majority of the people, very much is also to be set down to the hesitating, vacillating proceedings of the British government, and to the incompetence and dilatory conduct of the generals to whom it had, at first, entrusted the management of the war. The few particulars which appear in our account of that portion of the history touching the presidential terms, confirm the belief, that a fixed purpose to present all phases of our history, and in due proportions, has governed the author throughout his entire work.

We must name by itself the particular wherein Mr. Hildreth deserves, in a pre-eminent degree, the gratitude of every American, who, appreciating the moral conditions on which alone nations as well as individuals can prosper, has the welfare of his country at heart. The institution of African slavery—that monstrous inconsistency in the heart of a nation which, in the preamble of its independence, declares all men to have been created equal, and which perpetually vaunts itself the model republic,—that growing blight, which, at the time we write, has attained to such portentous authority as to threaten the extension of its curse over the whole land,—is, for the first time, dealt with manfully, fearlessly, and truthfully by an American historian. The author makes no disguise of his loathing for the "peculiar institution." His description of its workings in our history everywhere breathes that love of liberty, and that sacred regard for the rights of the humblest of his fellow-men, which commands our reverence and kindles our best enthusiasm. Let it not, however, be inferred that it is by epithets alone that he has presented the real character of human slavery. The sure tendency of such a system to induce, on the part of both master and slave, mental and bodily apathy, eating out the very life of industry and enterprise—to debase the mind and soul, quenching the fire of manly impulse, putting a ban upon free thought and speech—to efface the moral sense, and seal up the fountains of humane feeling —in all these particulars, the inevitable tendency of slavery needs but a simple statement, without the accompaniment of vehement denunciation, to be seen in its real character and detested. Our author has portrayed the

character of American slavery in the most emphatic of all terms, by showing, in terse yet simple phrase, what the institution has done—done in the way of making justice and humanity subordinate to the mercenary claims of trade and commerce—in perverting legislation from its noblest end, the protection of man himself as greater than his gains—in corrupting the integrity of public men and lowering the standard of public morality. We will here add that Mr. Hildreth's reader will learn that the first introduction of African slaves into this country, in Virginia, was not, as sycophant apologists would have us believe, a measure of the mother country in opposition to the wishes of the colony, but was with "the free consent and cooperation of the colonists themselves." We must not fail to state, that the truthful words in which slavery is dealt with, brings into more vivid prominence the position of those men, scattered over the whole country, whose consciences were outraged by its presence, and who, though entangled in its meshes, never lost a favorable opportunity to bear earnest and effective testimony against it. The darkness of the general picture is greatly relieved when we find in the federal convention so imperative an anti-slavery sentiment as to bring from Madison the declaration, that it was "wrong to admit, in the constitution, the idea that there could be property in man"—a declaration so far acted upon as to prevent any direct recognition of slavery in the constitution as finally adopted.

Let it not be presumed, that in sketching the portraits of our ancestors, Mr. Hildreth has been governed by a censorious spirit. The integrity which has moved him to present with equal candor all the phases of their history, is by no means a mere *pride* of integrity, which delights to exaggerate the foibles it has the daring to bring into view. A genial spirit pervades his entire work. Indeed, so far from under-estimating the general merits of the persons of his history, we claim that his very impartiality has but placed those merits in a more conspicuous light. In reading his account of their doings, we feel, as we have never felt in reading any other author, our connection with them as members of a common humanity. We enter into their feelings. We sympathize with their endeavors. We appreciate the obstacles which obstructed their prog-

ress. An honest avowal of their foibles shows them to be but fallible creatures like ourselves. And if, while weighed down by the infirmities common to our nature, having the usual temptations of humanity to overcome, they have nevertheless produced such a history as we can now claim,—and which with all its defects we can but look upon with a glow of patriotic pride,—we must regard their achievements as all the more redounding to their praise. To attribute to them superhuman qualities is to make their success easy, and so far to neutralize the real heroism of their triumph. To portray them as a different order of beings from ourselves, is to excite not admiration for what they did, but to exercise our curiosity as to what they were, and how they succeeded. To present them as human beings, is to call forth our admiration and to kindle our enthusiasm. In presenting the persons of American history with strict conformity to "the conditions of humanity," Mr. Hildreth has touched the chords of sympathy which connect us with them; so doing, it can but be the effect of his labors to excite a love of the much that is noble in their experience, and to call up in the breasts of his appreciating fellow-countrymen a resolve to emulate the general excellence of their example.

We have only to add, that considerations of style in no way diminish the praise we have felt called upon to bestow on the general contents of Mr. Hildreth's six volumes. A style of elegant simplicity, wholly devoid of ostentatious display, clear almost to perfect transparency, seems the fitting dress in which to clothe the annals and characters of a people, the general attractiveness of whose history needs not the arts of the rhetorician to hold a reader's attention, and to secure his approving judgment.

G. H. E.

Art. XXV.

Rev. E. M. Woolley.

Memoir of Rev. Edward Mott Woolley. By his daughter, Mrs. Fidelia Woolley Gillett, assisted by Rev. A. B. Grosh. With an Appendix, &c. Boston: Abel Tompkins, 1855. pp. 360.

Biography holds an important place in literature. No life is so insignificant as to have no influence on the lives of others—no mind is so feeble as to exert, directly or indirectly, no controlling force over other minds. Society is an aggregate, and no individual is insulated from surrounding potencies of good and evil; and the more strongly marked is the character of one of its units, the more forcible is its action on its contiguous units.

Biography perpetuates, in some degree, this power. It is the echo repeating tones that have died on the lips. It is the light in the track of the vanished sun. If the last rays of the luminary be lurid and baneful—let clouds rest on their retreating gleams; and if those tones be harsh and dissonant, let them pass into unawakening silence.

The memories of those who have not lived good lives, however distinguished by talent, should only be perpetuated as moral beacons on the dangerous billows of human life. The history of the bucanier and murderer may instruct the psychologist, who analyzes the spiritual, as the anatomist dissects the material being, and truths beneficial to man may result sometimes from his researches; but the young who read are unskilled in tracing cause and consequence, and, to them, the moral lesson is veiled. The undeveloped, though nobly endowed, mind is attracted by valor however misdirected, and weaves around it its own indwelling romance. The pirate, braving death on his battle-deck, or on the scaffold that ends his crimes, elicits the admiration instinctively paid to an unconquerable and defiant courage; while the heroism of patient suffering, and unostentatious duty, and even the sublime death of the patriot-martyr, arouse no thrill of sympathy.

But the psychologist has not equal advantage with his

brother analyzer, for the secret motive, the spring of mental action, leaves no tangible trace—the moral disease but dimly intimates the course of moral healing. Even if the suffering and evil of a morbid life could be portrayed, if remorse, and terror of human and Divine punishment darkened the page, and every secret agony were unveiled, still the utility of such development might be questioned. The storms of moral nature, unlike the physical, leave only desolation in their path; while love, the electric bond of intellectual being—the harmonizer of all the dependencies of God—diffuses far and wide a radiant atmosphere of joy and heavenly good.

Amidst all the beauty of this material world, (and the eye cannot rest where it is not,) there is nothing so beautiful as a noble and harmonious life—a life, (reverently be it spoken,) in unison with the Divine Life, responding, however feebly and faintly, amidst the dissonance of earthly passions, to those grand and solemn melodies that vibrate through the universe.

Genius and talent are glorious endowments when submissive to the Divine purposes, and energetic for the good of mankind; but they, to whom the passing ages do reverence, were not the slaves of self, nor the petted minions of their day and generation. They trampled on ease and luxury. They were hated and contemned. The prison and the scaffold knew them, and sometimes they passed from among men in torture, and on funeral pyres. But they passed in light, and their memories are the richest legacies of Time.

This volume was placed in our hands by a friend, with the request that we would read it, and say what we thought of it. Engrossed by other subjects, we endeavored to evade that request. He persisted, saying "that we could not read it without tears."

We read the volume. We thank his persistence. Our holiest and deepest sympathies are with the writer, for we well remember one who made the name of father the synonyme to us of all that is good and endearing in the human character. We are no critic. We do not acknowledge the infallibility of criticism. We know of no tribunal to decide the true and false among the multifarious tastes of the reading public, and if there were, the

biography of a father, by his bereaved child, would be no subject for its censorship. This memoir is heart speaking to heart. It is affection worshipping at the altar of memory, and if any suggest that "love is blind," let it also be remembered, that a character with great defects cannot inspire a blinding and devoted love. With regard to the contents of this volume, the writer says, "If there be any to whom my gift seems as nothing, or worse than nothing, I only ask that they will lay it aside, remembering that *they, too*, have their treasures. And by and by, when one they have loved and cherished shall have gone to a greater love and a tenderer care, God will give them in memory, if not in words, a precious record of the life that hung a halo around their way below." (Preface, p. 7.)

This narrative is artless and unstudied, as well as affectionate. It is introduced to the public by a gentleman of high literary and religious character, and will win credence by its evident sincerity.

Edward Mott Woolley was the youngest of seven children, and born in Dover, Duchess County, N. Y. He was an impulsive child, energetic, and decisive; now "breaking a colt, with another boy, a few years older, now writing rhymes to his pet, loving flowers with enthusiasm, very strict in his ideas of right and wrong, and so diffident and sensitive as to be misunderstood, even by his loving mother. She said to a friend, that "he had such strange ways, that she sometimes feared he would never make a bright man." Her friend replied, "Lizzie, I am sorry to hear thee say this, for Edward is the brightest and best of all thy children. If thee lives to see him become a man, thee will see thy mistake."

The parents of Edward were Quakers of moderate means, and the lad's desire for an education could not be gratified. He was accordingly apprenticed to the shoe-business, at the age of sixteen, with an older brother. This was a disappointment. He was also leaving home for the first time. He felt, to use his own words, that he had "commenced the battle of life, and that for me henceforth there was no shelter from the storm." His hunger and thirst for knowledge were still unsatisfied. He had no time for school, none for reading until the usual hours were given to his master. Then, when others

were seeking relaxation, he would mend a boot or shoe for a neighbor, and thus earn a little light, that he might study in some of those leisure hours. He was scrupulously faithful to his brother's time, besides doing much in the family, so that these seasons of study were taken from his sleep. Of his inventions to procure light and mental culture his biographer thus writes:

"But necessity is the mother of invention. When the candles his mother sent him (which she always did after he had made known to her his wants, if opportunity presented) were gone, and he had no coppers with which to buy more, he burned a pine-knot, if he could procure it. At times, when the pine was not at hand, he would put some of the tallow or lard used about the shop into an old basin, and, after melting it, some of the cotton cloth that had been brought for the purpose of lining the fine shoes was cut into a small, square piece, and the centre tied around a large button; the covered button was then placed in the tallow, or whatever material he could find of that nature, and the four pointed ends, coming a little above the top of the basin, were lighted. The basin was then set upon a rude stand, that he had prepared out of rough boards; and behind that low stand, upholding that miserable light, sat the poor young night-student upon his shoe-bench, seeking as eagerly for knowledge as ever did the favored youth of fortune.

If he could not procure the knot or the materials for the basin-light in winter, there was another resource—to make a glowing fire, and seat himself before it, at the expense of burning eyes and scarlet cheeks.

In this way he reviewed his early school studies, and obtained a very good knowledge of grammar. The newspapers his brother received were carried to the shop, and retained for night-reading, so that he kept himself well informed as to the general events of the day." pp. 48, 49.

Once, in his toil, he had earned an inkstand. It was in his eyes a great treasure, for it promised to give his spirit that utterance which is a necessity and a delight, even if no other eye see the recorded thought. It was broken by the roguishness of a little nephew, and regretful anger was subdued in his heart toward the boy, when his brother, coming in, harshly commanded him to clean the floor of the wrecks of his inkstand, without chiding the author of the mischief. This injustice very naturally aroused the strong and sensitive feelings of Edward, but he subdued them also, and spoke no angry words. From

thenceforward, he found no difficulty in self-control. The poor little inkstand could not have subserved so importantly his highest education if it had preserved its integrity for years.

How he improved his time will be seen in the fact, that in his eighteenth year he was one of the most popular speakers in the valley Lyceum, when the "pastor, deacons and trustees of the Presbyterian church were among the members."

He became a member of that church—an active and zealous member, and notwithstanding a great change of belief in after years, he was never excluded from it. He removed to Poughkeepsie with his brother, still toiling with better advantages for self-culture, educating his spirit for the endurance and sacrifice of its earthly work yet to be done, as well as storing knowledge in the mind.

The next winter, a Mr. Little, from Philadelphia, came to Poughkeepsie to teach writing. Edward could command only one hour in the latter part of the evening, but he became so proficient in penmanship, and they were so intimate in friendship, that they spent the remainder of the winter in journeying and teaching together, sharing the profits equally. At the close of their joint labors, Mr. Little proposed that Edward should go with him to Philadelphia, attend to his education, and live in the family of his friend, who would require enough of his services to ensure him the feeling of independence. To this Edward joyfully assented. The dreams of his youth seemed on the verge of realization. His darling hope was to be fulfilled. All was made ready, and on the eve of the day, before the morning they were to start, Mr. Little made some remark that awoke "new thoughts" in the mind of Edward. He asked the question, "Are you a Universalist?" "As the answer, 'I am,' came, in clear, distinct tones, Edward started from his seat as if stung by a viper." He refused to go to Philadelphia with Mr. Little, though they parted, both in tears. We quote from the memoir.

"Edward's description of Mr. Little was beautiful in the extreme. I will give it in his own words:—'He was between forty-five and fifty years of age, and not very robust. He had a heavy forehead, shaded by thick masses of hair, as black and glistening as the raven's

wing; a large, soft, soul-full, black eye, and an angel's smile hovered around his lips. His whole air and manner bespoke the good man and the polished gentleman. He was one of the few whom God gives us upon the earth to do good and to make others happy. And, had I not been purblind by bigotry and ignorance, I could not but have seen the sweet, heavenly spirit that shone through all his conduct. But so it is. Those nearest us know little of our most sacred feelings or holiest resolves. Summer and winter may we dwell with a friend,—ay, for thirty years may we go out and come in over the same threshold,—and yet, what do we know of each other? So has it always been; and so, perchance, it always will be. For

> 'The page that to a child
> Were written legibly, is by the wise
> Mistaken; and they will read it like an
> Over-blotted leaf, and break the heart that
> Wrote it.'" pp. 66, 67.

He then went to the home of another brother in central New York. Most of this journey, from the home of his father, was performed on foot. He was alone with nature, and she talked with his intellectual being. The tree, the flowers, the pebble, had voices for him, and he listened reverently. They spoke to him of God and His purposes, of life and its duties, of man and his destiny—on earth, and in those solemn spheres that lie unexplored in the majestic realm of death.

He worked at his trade with his brother until his circumstances allowed him to attend a school in some place where his labor would pay his board. He failed to make such an arrangement with his brother at Poughkeepsie, and so went to his father's house. Here, by a strange coincidence, his teacher again became his friend, and proved also to be of the same objectionable religious faith.

"It was a clear, moonlit winter's night; and, as they walked slowly up the well-beaten hill-path, the moonbeams lay in a golden network over the glistening snow-crust. The old gentleman, after a few moments of silence, suddenly exclaimed, 'It is almost a sin to tread upon these moonbeams at our feet. See how lovingly they creep around our way! Not around *our* footsteps alone, but, like the love of God, they are scattered broadcast as far as eye can see!'

'Yes, but, like the mercy of God, they will pass away,' sadly replied Edward; 'and I could never forget,' he continued, 'how steadily he looked at me as he answered,

'God's mercy pass away! How? In what manner? Let me ask, Can he be love, and not be merciful?'

'If he is merciful will he be just?' I inquired. He still kept his arms folded upon his breast, and, looking earnestly, even *sadly*, at me, said,

'Can he be love, and not be just?' Then he put his hand on my shoulder, and, giving me a hearty shake, laughed, as he said, 'Ah, Edward! the great trouble with you is, you are so much better and wiser than your God is!'" pp. 80, 81.

Now he dared not ask *that* question, although he suspected it, for it had already cost him a valued friend, and this one also was dear to him. The last day came to the school—of its close to him. He will give the story.

"He went home with me that night, and the circle, small though it was, that sat by my father's fireside, enjoyed an evening of happiness that was to be remembered sacredly. Mother charged me always to think of his teachings. How her good thoughts of him would have vanished, had she known his religion, though! The next morning I walked down to the foot of the hill with him, and there we parted. When he held my hand he said, 'This were, indeed, a sad parting, were it not for the hope of meeting there,' pointing to the sky. 'I have no thought of meeting you again on earth; for when my white hairs are beneath the valley dust you will be treading bravely in the march of life. But you will come to me at last (after a long and weary struggle, perchance,) in that heaven where God will gather a ransomed world.'

His voice did not tremble, and his manner was not sorrowful, as he bade me good-bye; and to my young and ardent feelings it seemed as though he was rather indifferent. But I know now that he had lived down joy and grief, and his soul was upon a plane so far above mine, that he could almost see the heaven he was so soon to enter.

I have withheld the name of this revered friend and instructor, out of respect to the living. He did not go home to die, but was laid to rest in the valley churchyard, and one or more of his sons are now ministers of the gospel of universal salvation." pp. 82, 83.

This was the last of his attending school. His education thenceforward was not the visible one, from man and books, but the invisible work from the moral providence of God.

He attended to business, and in conjunction with a brother, made a home near for his aged parents. He married, and made himself a home.

A beautiful incident is recorded by his biographer,

while he lived at Nelson Flats. Nothing could more admirably illustrate delicacy and refined benevolence. We are certain that the readers of this book will thank his biographer for recording a trait of such exceeding beauty.

"This newly-purchased house, of which I have just spoken, was very pleasantly situated. It was in the western part of the little village, and within sound of the rich, mellow music of the wide-flowing stream that lay upon the western boundary of the town. And from the door of this little dwelling, for several winters, my father carried my little brother and myself (one on his shoulders and the other in his arms) through the snow, and the untrodden paths of several winters, to the low red school-house not far from our door-step. The first memories of him, which linger fresh and beautiful in the hearts of his children, are those of his kindly nature. Among the poor, needy mendicants who frequently passed our door, was crazy Lucy. No matter how hungry and cold she might be, she would never enter our dwelling if father was there, for she possessed a wonderful fear of men; but she would draw her little bundles of patches closer to her side, pin her shawl again about her neck, pull her old rag-covered bonnet over her face, and turn her tired feet again to the filling snow-path, rather than sit at table or fireside with the pleasantest of hosts. Many a time has my father taken his hat and left the supper-table till this weary old creature could eat and go to her slumber; or, if she would journey on, send his little boy and girl with their aprons full of cookies and doughnuts (from my mother's well-filled table) for the poor wanderer to carry on her way." pp. 94, 95.

During these years, his friendship with Mr. Little and the other teacher had kept hold on his memory. Old impressions had given way. He read, meditated, examined the Scriptures, heard sermons, and prayerfully sought light. Then he became a believer, and, by strange and peculiar circumstances, a preacher of the faith once so abhorred. His life thenceforward was devoted to its dissemination.

Among the incidents connected with his early ministerial labors, the following illustrates the domestic affection and religious elevation of his character.

"The second winter of my father's labor in Hamilton, his aged father was attacked with a short but fatal illness. My father had been out to see him, and was again on his way to Cazenovia, when a messenger was sent to Hamilton with word of the immediately expected departure of the sick parent. My father had preached on the

Sunday, at five o'clock, in Hamilton village, and, remaining there all night, started early the next morning for Cazenovia. In this way he missed the messenger, and arrived at his father-in-law's, in Nelson Flats, before he received any intimation that the cheerful voice that had always gladly welcomed him would not be in the earthly home to greet him when he came.

He was fastening his horse in the stable, when his little daughter ran out, and said to him, 'Father, grandfather's dead.' He looked up to his father-in-law, and asked, 'Is father dead?'

'Yes, he died last night.'

'Has word been sent to Hamilton?'

'George went for you yesterday morning. We hoped to get you there in time to see him die.'

He gave no expression of sorrow, but covered 'Dolly' warmly, gave her a plenty of oats and hay, and when he entered the house he greeted them all cheerfully, and then went to his chamber. We heard him walk the floor of his room for several hours; but when he came down to the supper-table, his face, though very pale, was calm, and we never knew what a struggle it cost him to let his good old father go to the better land.

After tea, he rode out to Cazenovia. His aged, feeble mother met him at the door, and, as she gave him her wasted hand, the tears rolled thick and fast over her wrinkled cheeks, and she asked, 'Did thee know thy father was dead, Edward?' He put his strong arm around her tottering form, and led her back to a seat, and his voice was steady as he said, 'No mother, "he is not dead, but sleepeth."' She looked up into his face, and a smile broke over her before saddened countenance, and she exclaimed, 'God bless thee, Edward!' After he had become warm, his mother opened the door of a little back-parlor, and called, 'Edward, will thee come here?' He took his little daughter by the hand and entered the room; and there, in the same place in the room, and arrayed in the same manner as his own children afterwards saw *him*, lay his sleeping father. He was dressed in a brown vest, dark pants, and soft knit stockings, and the points of the brown silk neckcloth lay smoothly upon the white linen that glistened over his silent breast. The silver hair hung thinly about his hollow temples, and the placid, happy expression of his face was like that of a patriarch gone to his pleasant slumber. My father cut a lock from the white hair, and put it in his pocket-book (and, years after, this lock of hair was found, during a dangerous illness of his own, safely folded in papers, in a wallet of his pocket;) then he asked, 'Is this your grandfather, my child?' She answered by looking into his face, and asking, 'Is it he, father?'

'No. It is only his body you see here. His warm, kind heart is not here, any more than it is in your wax doll, but is with God, in a better world. Your grandfather will know you and all of us there.

He does know and love us all *now*. Never think of him as dead, my little girl, but as good and happy in heaven.'" pp. 127, 128.

The following description of a funeral, which he was called to attend, is interesting and instructive.

"The son of very worthy parents, living not far from the town where my father resided, had been wild and profligate, and finally terminated his career by committing suicide. The father of the young man went in person to see a Presbyterian clergyman, and asked him if he would come and comfort his suffering family. This clergyman was an honest and good man, and he replied to his friend thus:

'I have no source of consolation for you; your son has been very wicked, and has, with his own hand, put an end to his existence; and, according to my belief, he is suffering the just punishment for his sins. I don't like to say this to you; I should not like to say it to your heart-broken wife or suffering children.' He paused a moment, and then continued, 'You had better send for Mr. Woolley; I don't believe his faith, but, if there is a man on earth that can comfort you, it's he.'

My father was sent for, and he thus describes this scene of mourning: 'The home to which I was called was one of wealth and splendor; and as I walked up the broad flag-stone walk, underneath the drooping branches of the heavy elms, I could see distinctly, in the centre of the broad hall, the black pall that fell over the mahogany coffin, and swept the soft carpet with its heavy fringe. The father met me at the door, looking more like a ghost than a living man; and, as we were walking past the coffin, he pointed to the uncovered face, and, exclaiming "O, my God!" bowed his broad chest over the pall. The features upon which I gazed were finely cut, and with an aristocratic stamp upon them, and had there been a holy expression there, that face would have been divinely beautiful. It was the face, I should say, of a youth of fine talent, acute sympathies, and deep feeling, without restraining or balancing power. The complexion in life, I think, must have been a clear olive, and the eyes very dark. Around his forehead hung heavy masses of the blackest hair I ever saw, and it was thoroughly damp with the scalding tears of those who loved him.

We passed along to the foot of the hall, and entered the luxuriantly-furnished parlor. As we stepped through the open door, the father summoned strength of voice enough to introduce me, and then he leaned his elbow upon a piano near the door, and rested his forehead upon his hand. The two young sisters leaned their heads against the back of the sofa where they were sitting, and sobbed like little children. The brother, a youth perhaps of twenty years, folded his arms across his chest, and walked the room; but, in spite of his effort

at self-control, the tears would fill his black eyes, and fall over his cheeks. The mother (who, in defiance of her weeping eyes and sable weeds, was an uncommonly beautiful woman) sprang towards me, grasped my hand, and exclaimed, "O, sir! Our boy,—our poor, self-murdered boy,—is there any hope for him? Or must—O, God! must—" She could not finish the sentence. I held her hand gently, and said, "Who is there among you, if his son ask of him bread, would give him a stone? If you, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven know how to give good gifts unto his children?" She understood my meaning, and said, "O, if it can be so!"

I saw at once they were a superior family, and so deeply attached to each other that they would "let go heaven" unless one and all were there.

I talked to them the few moments that intervened before services, and I chose for my text that beautiful and expressive passage, "But go, rather, to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." They were very attentive, and a good deal comforted; and I never thanked God so sincerely for any one gift as for this blessed truth, that lifts up and sustains breaking hearts. Never before had I so rejoiced in my ministry as when I saw that family of mourners come back from the grave of that son and brother, and gather around the supper-table, while upon their faces the smiles of hope broke through the tears of sorrow.'

It were well, perhaps, to say that this family became the cherished friends of the strange clergyman who comforted them in their hour of woe, and also firm believers in the religion he that day taught them." pp. 135–137.

Sickness came to his family, and death. Sickness came, and laid her hand heavily on him; but still he toiled for what to him was his duty. We see him meeting all exposures of season, hazarding life in every way. We see him aroused from slumber, and going out into the wild, stormy, winter midnight, to comfort a dying man; the wind blowing furiously, and snow piled from five to ten feet in the road, and the messenger who came for him had been from four o'clock in the afternoon before, digging his way through the snow. "The dying man had something on his mind that he wished to say." The messenger said, "The roads are terrible, and the wind freezing cold; but Mr. B. hopes to see you before he dies."

The family fear many evils; among them, that there is a snare awaiting him, especially as the messenger will not

stay to accompany him, and point the way. They wish him to wait till morning. His answer is, "The man may be dead then. If I would do good, I must go now. My Master went safely through greater dangers." And so he goes—and not in vain. The departing and the remaining are consoled and strengthened.

Pecuniary losses fell upon him, from too much trust, it seems, in friends. His daughter relates how he met it.

"The night after his return his little daughter sat upon his knee, and asked, 'Father, is it true that you have lost so much money?'

'Yes, my child.'

'And have you got that debt to pay you was talking about?'

'I must try to pay it.'

'Then can we all go to school, and have those new books you told us about the other morning?'

'I don't know, my child. But God knows; he will provide the best way for all of us.'" p. 153.

The following extract will demonstrate the energy with which he strove to retrieve his pecuniary losses, without turning aside from his pulpit labors. It also illustrates other points of his character.

"Constant and excessive labor in his profession, with the care of and sickness in his family, together with the trial he had met, wore heavily upon his health. While in Munnsville he had suffered untold misery, unthought of by those who have not experienced it, by that most agonizing of all diseases, tic-douloureux. This summer he was again troubled with it, and with this was combined the worst form of dyspepsia, and a severe attack of bronchitis. But he could not find time for a moment's rest. If he could sit in his buggy a half-hour, he went to his appointments, although he was compelled to give up lecturing upon week-day evenings. He lost flesh so fast that he looked like a skeleton; and his only food was corn-meal pudding and molasses, though his appetite was voracious.

He was not able to drive his horse, or to be trusted alone, this summer; and, though I was a child of but ten years, I became his companion, while my brother Edward was left at home to bring the cow, and get the wood, and do the out-of-door 'chores' for my mother. When the Sabbath for the appointment in Lebanon drew near, my father would get into his buggy, and, while he clasped both hands around his cane, and leaned his head upon it to support himself, I sat by his side, and held the lines in one hand, while with the other I carried an umbrella, to shield him from the summer's sun. It would not be expected that I could manage a horse very expertly;

but I could give the alarm if my father fainted, or fell from the wagon; and good old 'Dolly' was as gentle as a lamb, and she knew every step of the way, from the gate before my father's dwelling to the door of the white church, ten miles distant. She was a very friendly creature, too; for she had a desire to call and see every friend my father had upon the way. In this manner we journeyed nearly all summer; and though my child's heart was sometimes wrung with the fear that my father would die before we could reach any dwelling, yet the memory of that summer stands out in my mind like the picture of a beautiful landscape, never to be forgotten. It was the fair meadow of early life, where the flowers grew and the birds sang, but where the snow had never fallen, and over which the chilling wind had never blown. It was the violet-strewn footpath, leading through green and fertile valleys, to the bleak, ice-crowned mountains beyond. I was of that tender age when the mind receives impressions easily, and when they generally become lasting. My father sometimes thought it a trial for me to be taken so much from the society of my mother, and my little brother and sisters; and he strove, as far as possible, to bring his conversation to my understanding. He was no moody companion, brooding over his sickness and sorrowing over his trials; but he forgot his own ills, to comfort and make happy those about him; and he always had a pleasant smile and a word of cheer for his friends, whenever they expressed a regret at his failing health. If I became alarmed as a pallor overspread his face, when I was driving for him, he would laugh, and say,

'Don't be frightened, my little girl! What if I do faint away? it is not the worst thing in the world. You must try to keep me in the wagon, and drive on, until you come to some house; but don't be frightened. I shall probably get over it; but, if I do not, you must think that it is the best time for me to go.'

He talked to me much about death, and a great deal of his own departure, which he seemed to think was very near. 'You are a little girl, I know,' he would say; 'but you are old enough to understand, for you have always been taught, that death is nothing to be feared; certainly, not to be feared by the good. The good always die happy, my child; and I want you to remember, now and always, to do right. Study hard to know what right is, and when you have had an opportunity to form an opinion of right and wrong without ignorance or prejudice, then do that which you intelligently and honestly believe is right. Many persons, perhaps, will not like you as well; but you will have a friend in your own soul that will sustain you, and you will know that God, who sees you, approves your conduct. And when people understand your motives,—when they see that you act because you must act from a sense of duty,—they will respect and love you, for every human heart has something in it that

likes goodness. And above everything else, my little girl, be honest; never, on any account, not even if the money of the whole world were offered you, tell a falsehood, or deceive in any manner. You need not always tell what you think; but, when you *do* speak, tell the truth. Never take anything, not even a penny, that does not belong to you; for stolen or pilfered property—whether you get it by open robbery or sly cunning—brings a curse with it. Keep your heart pure as it is now, and use your judgment and your conscience, and nothing, no one on earth, can really harm you. I want you to remember this one thing, to prefer death, rather than to do wrong. Then you will not fear to die; and if you remember the religion I have taught you, you will, if you live to be a woman, be willing and glad, perhaps, to see those you love best go home to God. If I should die while you are little, remember that I shall always love you all, and always be near you; and that I shall see you if you ever do wrong. You must remember, now, all that I have told you, and talk about it to your little brother and sisters.'

He would always wait for me to get out of the wagon and gather any flowers we might see by the roadside; and, if the air was very warm, he would fasten old 'Dolly' to a tree in the edge of a little wood, and lie down to rest in the dappled shadows close by some clear-flowing woodland spring. Then, when the scorching sun-heat was gone, and the twilight came on, he would ride on to the residence of some friend and stay over-night, when everything was done for his comfort.

My father was frequently cautioned by his friends for riding in this way, with no one but a little girl to watch him. But he would cheerfully reply, 'It is the best I can do now. My boy must stay at home to do for his mother what this child cannot do; and she can drive very well, for Dolly will mind her every time. On the whole, my friend, I believe I ought to thank God that he kept this sickness from me till my boy was old enough to wait upon his mother and sisters, and this girl could drive Dolly out to old Lebanon for her father.'

'But you must stay at home, Mr. Woolley, and get well. We can lose you better a few Sabbaths now, than always at last; which we must do, if you keep on.'

'That undoubtedly is good advice; and three months ago I should have abided by it. But now I not only labor to spread the Gospel among men, but I must work while life lasts to pay my debts. If I die with this heavy debt upon my shoulders, my wife and children will be beggars!'

One day, as he was riding over a level road, a friend stepped to the side of the wagon and asked, 'Brother Woolley, are you not presumptuous in riding in this manner? Supposing your horse should get frightened, or you faint away,—what could your little *girl do* for you?'

'Well, my friend, I am not presumptuous; for I am doing my duty. And, if I am to die by falling from a wagon, then that will be the best way for me to go. You forget that God can always do the best for us.'" pp. 154–157.

These extraordinary efforts were of no avail. "He could discover no way to relieve himself of debt, unless he accepted invitations to preach in new societies, and labored upon his farm." He made arrangements accordingly. His aged mother was then a resident in his family, experiencing the kindest attention and warmest love. His biographer writes—

"My father's health failed constantly, and he found that he must either relinquish the farm labor, or give up his ministerial duties. He saw, also, that he could not balance the debts against him without disposing of his little property; and although it cost him a heart-struggle, which only those can know who have been, or may be, similarly situated, yet he nevertheless concluded that it must be done; for he was scrupulously honest, and never could endure the thought that another should wait longer than the appointed time for the settlement of a debt with him. And, though this money difficulty had not come upon him by any extravagance of himself or family, he nevertheless considered himself bound morally, as he was legally, to pay it. Consequently, in the fall of 1838, he sold his farm, and made arrangements to leave the home of the parents, which he had purchased with his own hard toil and much self-denial." p. 200.

Among the hard trials of that arrangement, the hardest was that which separated his aged mother from her home of years, the spot where she had been most happy, and where she had thought to die. But that, too, was to be borne.

Although our extracts have been many, we cannot refrain from making one more, relating an incident that happened about that period, as it shows how cheaply and easily a benevolent and useful deed may be performed, and how practical philanthropy lies always in the path of him, whose eye and ear and soul are alive to perceive, and alert to perform, his "Master's work."

"He was once called to attend a funeral in the western part of Onondaga County, and, to be there in season, he was compelled to leave home about sundown, and ride all night. He was alone, on horseback, and as he rode along past the hotel in Oran, a horseman came out from under the shed and rode near him. 'He kept several

paces behind me,' said my father; 'and it was near midnight, I should judge, when he rode up by my side, and greeted me with

'Rather a dark night, sir.'

'Somewhat dark, friend; yet one can readily find one's way.'

After a short silence, he said, 'You and I are strangers, sir, yet our paths seem to lie in the same way.'

'The same way at present,' I replied; 'but they will undoubtedly diverge again for a while before we have rode many miles.'

'Ah, yes, that's it!—the way with us all; a short journey together, and then a separation. And, for me, it makes but little difference which way I journey or where I go. But, sir, I did not understand you. What did you mean when you said, "They will probably diverge again *for a while?*"'

'Friend, allow me to notice your other remarks first. Did you tell the truth when you said to me that it made no difference to you which way you journeyed, or where you went?'

'Yes, sir; I meant it all,—every word of it.'

'Then, indeed, you are a miserable creature! A man in life without an aim, without a hope, without a love, is the most wretched of human beings; and you must be without all of these, or you could not truthfully make such an expression. With me it is far different. It *does* make a difference, and a *great* difference, in my feelings, where I go and who I am with.'

'Perhaps you have never been weighed down with trouble, and broken in energy with failure and disappointment?'

'No, I have not yet been broken in energy by disappointment; and, though I would not insinuate that your griefs are not the heaviest of all griefs, yet I have generally found that he who complains the most suffers the least. The grief that comes up to the surface, and tells itself in words, and groans, and sighs,—there is a relief for that. It will die away in time, and the sunlight of joy will glisten and the flowers of hope blossom in its place. It is only the grief that turns away and hides itself in the stricken heart, as the bleeding dove hides her wound,—it is only this sorrow that kills. And I should think, friend, that there might be some happiness in store for you.'

'Now,' added I, 'I will tell you what I meant by those few words,—we journey together a few miles, and then we separate. Your path lies one way across the earth, mine another; but they both stop at last somewhere upon the boundary of that happy country which lies over beyond the valley of the shadow of death. Who can say that there they will not wind together again?'

'You must be a very happy man,' he replied, 'if you have this view of life.'

'I *am* a happy man, my friend. If all the trials of this world were heaped upon me, they could not render me as unhappy as you

told me you were. For the love of my "Father in heaven" would be with me, his boundless mercy would be around me, his almighty arm would support me.'

'We cannot all feel alike. I sometimes think that there is no joy for me.'

'The good man—the man who means to be good—is never very unhappy. He must have a source of joy within him. And I hope, and I think, that life must have some blessings for you yet. Don't give way to sorrow. Bear it like a man, and you will come out of the trial like the sun from the mist of the morning.'

We had now reached the Corners, in Manlius, and here we were to separate. It was yet too dark for us to see each other's faces distinctly, and he rode closer to my side, and gave me his hand, saying, as he did so, 'Now, sir, we part. I have not asked your name; I do not care to know it. But there is a providence in this, that I should find just the friend I needed, and just at the time I wanted him. Good-bye, sir; and if there is a God he will reward you.'

I shook his hand, and said, 'Don't despair, my friend. Many a good day you'll see yet.'

And thus we parted.

Many years after, I was riding, one fine summer's day, through a beautiful village in Monroe County. As I stopped before the door of the hotel, a noble-looking man stood upon the steps. I asked the landlord if he had room and feed for my horse. He had not time to reply before the stranger upon the steps came to me, and, with as joyous a look upon his face as if he had found an old friend, gave me his hand, exclaiming, 'Thank God, sir, you have come!' I was amazed, but he had recognized the first sound of my voice, while his voice was so changed I could not tell that I had ever heard it.

'Do you remember, sir,' he asked, 'a midnight ride, years ago, with a stranger who came out from under the shed of the tavern in Oran, Onondaga County, and kept you company to Manlius?'

'I do, sir.'

'Well, I am that man.'

All this time he had stood with his arm over the neck of my horse, to prevent his being taken away; and now he jumped into my buggy, and said, 'You must come with me. I can't, I won't take no for an answer.'

He took the reins in his hand, and drove across the road, a few rods to the east of the village, and stopped before a beautiful country residence. A young boy came out, to whom he gave the horse; and he entered a long hall, and opened a side-door into a sitting-room. There, upon the softest of carpets, was a beautiful boy of three or four years, rolling marbles; and by an open window, wreathed with a rose-vine, sat a woman engaged in pencilling. As the stranger threw open the door, he said to the woman, 'Here, wife, this is our good angel! I can't tell you his name.'

I gave them my name, and, while his wife attended to our dinner, he said, 'You remember how discouraged I was when I saw you. We had then just lost a sweet little girl; I had failed in business; my wife was very sick; and I was then returning home from the burial of my mother. My friends were all in affliction, and no one had a word of encouragement for me, till I met you. After we parted, I rode on thinking over what you had said, and by the time I reached home I was quite reconciled to life. I told my wife that I had seen our good angel, and so you have proved to be; for whenever I was ready to despond, your words, "There are good days for you yet," came to my mind; and "the good man is not always unhappy," worked like magic with me.'

They urged me to tarry all night; but my business led me on, and we parted." p. 195–199.

Thus his life passed, in ill-health, in toil, in struggle with circumstances, yet always in the sunlight of faith.

In 1843, a "change of climate" was ordered by the physician. Accordingly he went West, to visit the country. He decided to remove there, and in 1845, was pastor of a society in Michigan. In 1847, he removed his family to a farm near Birmingham, intending to remain for life.

This change of climate brought no improvement in health, but the diseases of the country were superadded. Notwithstanding, he labored, it appears, with the same untiring energy, and encountered similar trials, hoping, and meekly trusting in God. His biographer writes—

"As soon as my father had gathered his family upon this small farm, about two miles from Birmingham, he returned to his ministerial duties. He was preaching every alternate Sabbath in Pontiac and Birmingham; and though many other heavy and trying labors were his to perform, he was always faithful to the discharge of his professional duties. He had no horse this summer, and generally walked to his appointments, and often journeyed ten or twenty miles on foot to attend a funeral, or be present to solemnize a marriage-rite." p. 280.

He adorned this new home. He thought to make it a resting-place for old age, if it should come to him. He planted trees. He planted flowers. He had done so in other homes, for the love of the beautiful was one of the components of his being. But his steps were now in that valley so dark to the children of earth. Beyond the narrowing gloom, he saw the silent river, where mortal voices fail, and but faith hears celestial melodies wafted from beyond its sullen waters.

His biographer has shown how the young, sensitive spirit was mailed and armed for the warfare of life. She has laid before us its power and energy in that conflict. It only remains to reveal how that severely disciplined spirit passed onward from mortal vision.

"On the seventh day of January, 1853, he preached one sermon; but the disease that laid its vice-like grasp upon him years before, had nearly reduced the citadel of life, and now it fastened upon him with redoubled strength; and on the eighth of January he was taken to his bed, which he afterwards left but a few moments each day. Those who had not been intimately acquainted with him before this sickness might, as they looked upon him, have some hope of his recovering; but those of his own household, who had watched him through many serious illnesses, and, more than all, understood his peculiarly sensitive nervous temperament, his great and never-failing hope and cheerfulness, and his consideration for the feelings of all around him, knew that these symptoms of recovery were illusive as the rainbow-hues of a departing dream.

There was no hope of longer life below, and the dearly-loved but wasting sufferer knew it. His faith had become too much a portion of his nature to grow dim in the hour of death. If he had lost all else, even had the dark wing of insanity fluttered among the chords of his soul, the precious religion he had so long taught would have cast its rays of brightness underneath the darkness, and permeated his voice with cheerfulness, and hung hosannas upon his lips. Nothing could have changed it; it would have gone with him, as it did, like a creature of light, down through 'the valley of the shadow of death.'

The days of suffering wore on, the nights of weariness went by; and, on the 4th of May, 1853, as the curtain of twilight was falling over the newly-decorated earth, the angel-messenger came, the healing balm fell upon the wounded heart, and the great, freed spirit burst its prison-bars, and soared away to the elysian fields of eternal joy and rest." pp. 303, 304.

We have briefly reviewed the leading facts in this memoir, leaving to its gifted and affectionate author to delineate its subject, as she best knew him. We take leave of it now, resting assured, that with those who read it, there will remain a warm appreciation of the filial and sisterly love that impelled her to send it forth, to bear testimony to the worth of one so beloved and departed, and also to aid, with its pecuniary avails, the education of the beloved still under her care, and she will have their best wishes that its hallowed object will be accomished.

There are letters and poems interspersed in the memoir, and a few extracts from sermons. These literary remains, as the writer justly observes, can hardly be supposed to give a fair exposition of the talents of Mr. Woolley, yet they add much to the interest of the volume.

It is a subject of congratulation to the philanthropist, that literature is assuming a healthier tone, even in works of fiction, and fancy. The reading public demands something more than to be amused. It demands instruction, mental and moral. It demands something that shall lighten toil, throw beauty around the daily duties of life, lift the spirit from the sensualism of its mortal tenement, lessening, every way, the burdens of humanity, and that dread of the approaching grave, that day by day, draws near and more near to the sons and daughters of man. Works of biography are multiplying everywhere. There is a constantly increasing desire to know the circumstances that surrounded those who have left their mark upon society—the private hours—the daily thoughts and acts—that helped to form their public lives. And that desire is being fulfilled. From the pious and lowly occupants of humble pulpits and humbler homes, to the lauded statesman and revered sage, memorials are springing up in our way. The earth is tracked with the footprints of the glorious dead. They who have meekly borne the cross of self-renunciation—they who have wrought their Master's work in patient suffering—they who have ascended from the battle fields of freedom, from prisons and scaffolds, made holy by their love of God and man—all these have left records that illuminate the world, and teach,

"How nobly Love can live, how grandly Faith can die!"

L. J. B. C.

Art. XXVI.

Head, Heart, Hand.

For the purpose of this article, Christianity may be said to be constituted of three elements, intellectual, emotional, and practical. Of course, therefore, it must have a threefold relation to man—to his mind or head, to his affections or heart, to his conduct or hand. And among the toughest problems which the Christian world has ever attempted to solve, are the comparative importance and the reciprocal relations of these elements, both in theory and in life. Ought the Christian teacher to endeavor primarily to enlighten the understanding, and give clear conceptions of the divine character and government, and of human duty and destiny? Or should he seek to touch the sensibilities, and fill the heart with gratitude and compassion? Or, finally, should he essay to quicken the conscience, and so to secure an external conformity with the requirements of virtue? If the first of these—the inculcation of correct dogmas—be his object, he will set forth with what precision, and commend with what ability he can, the leading historic facts and the fundamental principles of the gospel, and endeavor to make men keen debaters, intense and comprehensive thinkers, and theologues. If the second of these ends—the awakening of the sympathies and the right direction of the feelings—be aimed at, he will meddle little with mere dogmas, but illustrate and enforce with all the skill he is able, the infinite grace of the Father, the wondrous sacrifice of the Son, and all the precious hopes, encouragements, and consolations of Christianity. If the last of these objects—the conformity of the conduct to the precepts of Christ—seem most desirable, his labors will naturally assume an altogether practical direction; will be devoted to the discussion of the nature and worth of specific acts, and to appeals to the fear of punishment and the hope of reward which do most readily, if not most permanently, affect one's volition and action. If, however, the intellectual, the affectional, and the practical elements of our religion have assumed their

appropriate relations in his mind, he will give his endeavors to no one of these results exclusively; but while seeking to illumine the mind, he will also strive both to arouse the sensibilities, and to secure a harvest of generous and noble deeds. But in the apprehension of how few of either the believers or the teachers of Christianity do these elements harmoniously co-exist! In the characters of how many less are they harmoniously reproduced! Certainly in the creed or the disciples of no sect do we see them blending as they might for the culture of the highest Christian life. Almost everywhere, in creeds and in conduct, does one or the other manifestly predominate, hindering the development of the others. The results are sadly distorted, rather than beautifully symmetrical souls. Notwithstanding this, we instinctively feel that, both in design and in reality, they constitute—and that it may be made apparent to every understanding that they do constitute—an undivided unity—a unity which alone gives any thing like a complete expression of the Christian system, and which alone can be productive of any thing like a perfect Christian character. It is purposed, therefore, to say something now of these three elements of Christianity. Or, to phrase it somewhat differently, it is purposed to speak of the religion of the head, the religion of the heart, and the religion of the hand; to illustrate the province and the defects of each when separately considered; the manner and the extent to which they have been divorced; and the method in which they must coalesce before Christianity can achieve its highest results, and the kingdom of God be fully established on the earth.

And first, the religion of the *head* or the *intellect*. This, of course, must have a firm and unquestioned, if not an unquestionable, basis. Its foundations must be laid deep in the nature of things, and with all the firmness of which human genius is capable. Its superstructure must be in accordance with the most rigidly scientific principles. Not only must every part be in harmony with its fundamentals, but in harmony with every other part. In its walls must there be no aperture through which the arrow of a foe can find entrance, much less a breach through which the foe in person may enter to spoil and destroy. Compact *and perfect*—if not really, yet apparently—must it stand

to be approved by the cold, clear eye of reason. To those who constitutionally demand and instinctively accept such a religion, God is the infinite intellect—the universe, the visible symbol of unbounded wisdom and skill. To them no higher conception of the Deity or his works is possible. For evidence on which others of a less tenaciously intellectual fibre base their convictions, they can hardly disguise their contempt. They will not be satisfied without a "Thus saith the Lord" for every position, an argument to stop the mouth of every inquirer, and a syllogism to put down every opponent.

This kind of religion is well illustrated in Calvinism, one of the most rigidly logical systems that ever found advocates or believers among men. Especially is this the case with Calvinism as taught and vindicated by Edwards. For, grant the premises of the morose Genevan, or of his little more genial American disciple, and human wisdom and cunning may safely be defied to escape his conclusions. Hence the appeals of Calvinism are always to the *head*, as though it were enough to secure the assent of that, however much the heart might reluctate from it, or however impossible it might be to illustrate it in the life. The followers of Calvin, therefore, wherever his teachings have had liberty to develope their natural results, have been about equally characterized by intellectual acumen and vigor, and by a stern, intolerant temper. The gentler graces of religion—meekness, patience, gentleness, and the fervent philanthropy which embraces the world in its arms—have generally failed to secure their active endeavors, if not their hearty esteem. A very slight acquaintance with the history and peculiarities of the Puritans, perhaps the most devoted Calvinists that ever existed outside the circle of the reformer's personal influence, will serve both to confirm and illustrate the position here taken. Yet Calvinism and Calvinists are not the only sinners in this respect. A similar, if not an equal predominance of the intellectual over the emotional and the practical elements may be discovered in other dispensations of Christianity. Our own form of it—at least as held by many among us—is by no means innocent of the same fault. To not a few of both our preachers and people, religion, apparently, has been, if it be not now, mostly if not solely

a thing of intellect. That it has an equal, if not a more intimate relation to the feelings and the conduct, seems to have hardly dawned upon their imaginations. They fancy therefore that if the mind be fully enlightened in regard to the character of God, his relations to, and his purposes concerning, his dependent creatures, the work of Christianity has nearly all been accomplished; the affections and the life can hardly fail to flow in the proper channels. Hence the demand of such constantly is for the first principles, the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. "Give us these," say they—"something which will feed the minds of men, and not this declamation about the necessity of virtue, the beauty of piety, the indispensableness of love. Show us the wisdom, the power, the goodness of the Father—show us the nature, the certainty, the extent of redemption, and we will answer for the rest." Yet how unreasonable such demands, and how futile such expectations are, a very slight acquaintance with either human nature or human history will suffice to show. For while the former assures us that the soul of man is not all intellect, but is constituted of affections and conscience which must needs be cultivated, the latter declares in terms too plain to be mistaken, that the most accurate perceptions of truth and right, and the readiest intellectual assent to them, are not unfrequently conjoined with depraved affections and irregular conduct. If it were not so—if the clearest perceptions of moral principles and duties were always accompanied by a corresponding elevation of life, then would Byron the worn-out debauchee, and Burns the confirmed sot, and Napoleon the unscrupulous despot, have been among the most virtuous of men. How often, too, do the instincts of the heart reason more correctly than the disciplined faculties of the head? How often do the former obtain juster views of those subjects which are generally supposed to be cognizable by the latter alone? "Blessed," says Jesus, "are the pure in heart"—those who have a profound sympathy with the spirit and purposes of heaven—"for they shall see God" intellectually; while the beloved disciple declares that "he that loveth, *knoweth* God."

Still let not the religion of the head be despised; for it has done a great and good service in the warfare with

unbelief and in the development of humanity. It is destined to accomplish still more in the same direction. In the nature of things, also, religion must commend itself to a man's intellect before it can take a very strong hold of his sensibilities, or influence in any marked degree his conduct. While, therefore, in the commencement of his spiritual career, the Christian believer should seek, and the Christian teacher endeavor to set forth, correct conceptions of truth, neither of them should fail to enlist, as far as he is able, the sympathies of the heart, or to conform the every-day conduct to the most rigid rules of duty.

But it is time that I pass now to say a few words of the religion of the heart. And by this I mean not the religion of sober, enlightened affection, but of tender, acute sensibilities. What the basis of *this* is—how firmly or how unsteadily it may rest upon it—is of comparatively little consequence. How the superstructure may be reared, how compactly or how loosely its parts may be united, how imposing or how repulsive may be its appearance, is of equally little moment. The one thing indispensable thereto is an ability to touch and excite the sympathies. To those who constitutionally demand and instinctively accept this form of religion, God appears not as the infinite intellect, but as boundless compassion and unfailing tenderness. The sovereign they lose sight of in the friend; while not unfrequently in their apprehension the divine friendliness degenerates into mere good-nature. For strong and elaborate arguments for the Christian faith, or for Christian virtue, or for any who employ such arguments, they have little favor, if not positive dislike. Christianity in their judgment carries its own evidence with it—in its power to arouse the emotions of hope and fear, joy and sorrow. What they demand, therefore, is such a presentation as shall thrill and melt the heart; as shall extort the tear of penitence for past transgressions, and the shout of joy for the prospect of future bliss.

The best existing type of this kind of religion that I know of is Methodism, the most emotional of all forms—Catholicism perhaps excepted—which Christianity has ever assumed. Hence, for the diffusion or the defence of Methodism, the aid of logical statement and philosophical argument is very seldom invoked. Neither of them is in

the line of its believers' thought or its advocates' endeavor. When the latter do attempt it, the careful observer can hardly fail to perceive that they are out of their appropriate element, and that their words fall on listless and inattentive ears. To the disciple of Wesley, it is of comparatively little consequence indeed whether he is able to give a very good "*reason* for the hope that is in him" or not. For if unable to defend in any tolerable degree the opinions he cherishes—if completely silenced, as is sometimes the case, by the cunning sophistry of the skeptic, or the fairer arguments of the more intellectual believer—he can lay his hand upon his heart and say, "Here is the evidence that I am right—an assurance which is inwoven with every fibre of my being, and of which no man can deprive me." With persons of this class, religion relates almost wholly to the sensibilities. That it has also a relation to the intellect and the life, they seem to have either forgotten or ignored. Hence it is not from the most highly cultured and the most thoughtful portion of the community, as a general thing, that their ranks are recruited and enlarged, but from those of scanty opportunity and excitable temperament. Hence, also, the occurrence among them of those scenes wherein whole congregations are melted to tears, and swayed by the accents of some sympathetic speaker, as the yellow corn is swayed by the south wind; wherein individuals here and there in the assemblies become apparently dead to all outward things, while others are elevated to such a pitch of enthusiastic joy as not to know whether they are in the body or out of it. "Get the feelings right," say such; "cause them to respond quickly and powerfully to every manifestation of the Father's mercy and the Saviour's love, and the mind will naturally enough rise to essentially correct views of the government of the former, and the life fall into harmony with the precepts and spirit of the latter." Just as though there were not all around, whom whoso is not blind may see, men from whom it is easy to extract the tear of sensibility in the church, or to raise to fever-heat on some special occasion, but who have no worthy conceptions of the principles or method of the divine economy, and whose lives are as barren of all really Christian *fruits* as the desert of Sahara is of verdure.

But, as I said of the religion of the intellect, so I say of the religion of the sensibilities, let us not despise it. Faulty as it is when not combined with the other elements of Christianity, it has yet done a noble work for the race. Many are the souls, lulled in the arms of sensualism or dead in sin, which it has aroused to some juster ideas of life, and to some keener sense of their responsibilities. One of the greatest religious movements of modern times, indeed, was set in operation by it. I refer to the movement begun by Wesley, Whitefield, and a few others, when the whole Protestant world seemed utterly given over to cant and formalism; a movement which, however much of its original force and spirit it may have lost, is not yet, and will not be for a long time to come, extinct.

And this brings me to speak finally of the religion of the hand, or of practical life. This, unlike the religion of the intellect, but like that of the sensibilities, has little regard for abstract theories or logical arguments. Nay, for any thing and every thing akin to dogmas or dogmatical teaching, it has neither sympathy nor toleration; for these things, and the importance which men attach to them, it reckons among the most unmitigated evils that have ever afflicted the world. According to it, had it not been for creeds and dogmas, all sectarian strife and bitterness would have been avoided, men would have lived together in sweetest fellowship, and the whole world have become an Eden. Judging by the affirmations of its disciples, indeed, one would suppose that the New Testament was composed of either catalogues of vices to be shunned and virtues to be practised, or of certain specific rules for the guidance of man's moral conduct in regard to which there could be no mistake, and that such a thing as a principle was hardly announced therein. But while herein it agrees with the religion of the heart, it disagrees therewith, and accords with the religion of the head, in its neglect of the feelings. For any thing bordering upon enthusiasm, it has no affinity, but a decided aversion. In regard to all religious exercises, its favorite passage of Scripture is, "Let your moderation be known to all men." Very calm, very sedate, very decorous in all their devotions are its disciples. With them true prayer and praise are not offered with the lips or the heart, but the hand, and con-

sist in active endeavor to lessen the misery and augment the happiness of the world. Their continual cry is, "Cease prating about mere belief or tender sympathies, and give us good deeds. Show us these, and you show the best,—aye, you show the only evidence that is really worth regarding, of the Christian spirit."

The best illustration of this form of religion is found, I think, in Unitarianism; certainly in Unitarianism as held and administered by some of its disciples and teachers. A favorite topic of declamation with them, therefore, has been the uselessness and harmfulness of dogmas. What are their exact opinions,—whether they have any very well-defined ones upon some of the most momentous of all topics that can engage human attention,—it is not a little difficult to determine. Of every thing like a creed or a formula of faith, they have a profound horror; seemingly not remembering that a creed is nothing more nor less than one's belief, that one's belief is the result of his best thought, and that whoso is not wholly innocent of thinking must, in the nature of things, have some sort of a creed. Coupled with this aversion for dogmas is an almost equal dislike of every thing approximating remarkable fervor of feeling. The zeal and enthusiasm displayed by some of their neighbors they can characterize by no milder epithet than fanaticism. Cold, passionless, preceptive, addressed to the ear of highly-cultured and refined men and women is their teaching, but alas! almost impotent to take hold of the popular heart. "Bring the conduct into harmony with Christ's law," say such; "let the hand be active in deeds of beneficence, in clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, and redeeming the slaves of passion and sin, and the intellect and the sensibilities cannot go far or remain long out of the way." As though it were not very possible for one to give all his goods to the poor and his body to the flame, and yet be so destitute of real devotion to God and love to man as to be but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

Still by no means worthless is the religion of the hand. That its proclamation has done no little good, and is now needed, is manifest when we consider how liable men are to rest satisfied with mere dogmas or with the experience of some wonderful excitement of the sensibilities. More

than this, any dispensation of religion which does not result in earnest and persistent endeavors for the relief of the suffering, the enlightenment of the ignorant, and the salvation of the sinful, is unworthy a moment's thought. "Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit."

Thus much for the religion of the head, the heart, and the hand. I have written not as I desired, but as time and ability have enabled me. How faulty is each of these when separated from the others, must be apparent to every reflecting mind, as each can touch but a segment of our complex and many-sided nature. The truth is—a truth which so many are ready to acknowledge, but which so few practically heed—they are mutually complementary. Each and all belong to, and harmoniously co-exist in, the religion of him who spake as never man spake; and never shall we behold any adequate expression of that religion, either in theory or life, till men are lifted to a perception and realization of the fact. What the world now imperatively demands is an interpretation of Christianity in which these three elements shall melt into one; a religion whose foundation will endure the closest scrutiny of the intellect, and whose structure no assaults of logic can shake or harm; a religion which the affections of the best hearts instinctively welcome as from heaven, and in whose sweet light and profound peace they are conscious of no unsatisfied want; and a religion which braces the conscience against every attack of temptation, makes the will resolute, and the hand strong for the discharge of every duty. But where, alas! shall we look for such an interpretation of Christianity? Has any church or sect been so fortunate as to discover and announce it? Though holding denominational relations, and shrinking from no responsibilities which those relations legitimately involve, I am constrained to say *I think not.* Yet having faith in a paternal Providence and in human progress, I am confident the time is coming when Christianity shall assume to the apprehensions of men such a form as I have indicated. The time is coming when it shall be seen and felt to be able to touch every side and thrill every fibre of the soul; when men, loving Jesus, will keep his words, and the Father and the Son will come unto them,[1] illumining

[1] John xiv. 23.

all the recesses of their understandings—will take up their abode with them, transforming law into love, service into freedom, and sorrow into joy. M.

Art. XXVII.

Authorship, its Importance and its Rewards.

Looking, as from an eminence, upon men in the midst of their employments, on their farms, in the busy cities, or on the sea, we behold a number by no means inconsiderable, working silently and quietly in the laboratories of thought. In the same survey, too, we see the results of their labors, and those of their fellow-workmen in former ages, strewn over the length and breadth of the civilized world. In rolls of parchment rescued from the ruins of architectural splendor, in the more compact tomes of a later date, but still dusty and tawny with age, and in the ever multiplying books of the present, bearing in the freshness of their faces an evidence of the newer and fresher life within—in all these, treasured in the libraries of the old world and the new, or scattered through the homes of both, we see the achievements of their noiseless toils, and the works which they have wrought in secret.

And, seeing, we ask with a commendable utilitarianism, Of what use are all these? or, as Longfellow says to himself, at the close of his Outre Mer, "To what end is all this toil? Of what avail these midnight vigils?" The farmer knows that while supporting himself, he is benefitting others. Can such be the consciousness of the author, or is his profession merely an easy way of gaining a livelihood? Are his works such as will "perish in the using?" Have books only a temporary influence, serving but to while away a leisure hour? To consider these questions is to consider the influence of literature upon mankind.

Literature has the privilege and the responsibility of

influencing the mind of man. It is the repository of what has been thought in all times and upon all subjects, and as such is the proper means of imparting knowledge and awakening thought. It collects the discoveries and experiences of all other minds for the benefit of each individual mind. And it has to do not with the intellect alone, but operates also, both directly and indirectly upon our moral and religious natures. The symmetrical development of the whole soul requires a great variety of means. Truths of all kinds, and from all sources, harmonize and mutually illustrate each other. Even that which is seemingly insignificant has its part to perform.

> "God gave a different gift to each,
> To charm, to strengthen and to teach."

No one, probably, would deny that literature being thus the vehicle of instruction and discipline, is highly valuable. But its *relative* bearing upon life—the *proportionate* part which it has to perform in moulding our characters, may not be quite so obvious. Aside from the knowledge that we gain from our observations on ourselves, on society and on nature, our whole store of wisdom is drawn from books. That is, the two ways in which God instructs us is through our own experience on the one hand, and on the other, through the records of his manifestations to others. The exception to this may be made that the teachings of others are not always in writing. Truth is often imparted and precepts delivered verbally, by father to child, or teacher to pupil. But notwithstanding the advantages of familiar and oral communication, important truths are usually more thoroughly and effectually presented in the written form. In this way the investigation is more careful and complete, and the conclusion derived may be more clearly and persuasively set forth in the exact phraseology of composition. From the greater caution of composing, we can retain and revolve a thought until it acquires definiteness, and delay on the expression until it will adequately convey our meaning. Says Channing, "We doubt whether a man ever brings his faculties to bear with their whole force on a subject, till he writes upon it for the instruction or gratification of others." We should now, perhaps, be possessed of a

more correct understanding of the opinions and beliefs of Socrates, had he chosen to commit his thoughts to writing. And not only is writing necessary for the more accurate expresson of thought, but also for its preservation. The stories of the blind Mæonian bard were as thrilling to the souls of his village listeners when they rolled forth from his mouth in glorious hexameters, as they are to readers of the present day; but had not Pisistratus fixed them on the parchment, their wonder would have lived only in tradition, and they would not have been as now, "a melody to haunt the world for aye."

We have only to look about us, to see how largely books have to do with our lives in these latter days. They are with us from the cradle to the death-bed, from the time when our infant vision, trembling with new life, reads wonders in its "primer," till the same sight, grown dim with years, rests for the last time on the blessed pages of its Bible. Books are our companions, friends and counsellors. When the mind is weary with toiling, and needs something better than inactivity, when the will is weak, and wants a breath of noble exhortation to arouse it, when the sorrowing heart sighs for consolation, when common life requires the touch of beauty, when new truths are craved or old truth wants confirmation, then do we love those silent creatures that wear their thoughts and feelings as a frontlet—then is it that we welcome books.

Having then considered literature, in general, as exerting a constant and extensive influence for good or evil, let us examine, more particularly, its value in some of its various departments. Leaving out of consideration scientific and historical works, as those whose importance would be more readily acknowledged, let us confine our attention to some whose practical results are not quite so obvious. Poetry and fiction first claim our attention. Poetry is read, ever has been, and will be. The majority of its readers do not stay to inquire why it has always awakened such an interest and maintained such an important station in the world of thought, but they know they like it. The poet is looked upon as a fanciful dreamer, very little practical, and living far aloof from the busy and common-place world of other men. With

"eye in a fine frenzy rolling," and soul "of imagination all compact," he is supposed to catch something of a frantic inspiration, and to compose as some writer has told us, merely "to delight and be praised." But poetry, rightly viewed, has a deeper meaning, and as Hippolyta says of the lover's story in Midsummer Night's Dream,

> "More witnesseth than fancy's images,
> And grows to something of great constancy."

Channing speaks of it as "the expression of that thirst or aspiration, to which no mind is wholly a stranger, for something purer and lovelier, something more powerful, lofty, and thrilling, than ordinary and real life affords." Again, he says, "In its legitimate and highest efforts, its aim is the same with Christianity, that is, to spiritualize our natures." And thus it is. Constituted as we are, the necessities of life compel the majority of our race to labor mostly for the supply of physical wants. They must employ the might of human energies in dealings with, and control over, the material. The greatest share of time and attention of the greatest part of mankind, is devoted to the least important part of their nature. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, all, are in themselves mere matter-service. Matter-*service*, I say, for though the hands control, the mind is too prone to become the subject. The thoughts are too apt to become "of the earth, earthy." The immortal mind becomes gross in its conceptions, and carries its own low standard in the appreciation of lofty truths. Spiritual things are not spiritually discerned, and religion becomes a ceremony. Such would be the tendency of an exclusive devotion to necessary worldly pursuits. Not to say but that human employments are a most suitable means of disciplining the soul, if there be agencies to counteract such a tendency. And there are. Christianity comes to teach such spirituality as the world would never have known. In the same great work poetry has its part to perform. One of the ways in which it tends to elevate the soul, is by its recognition and disclosures of the beautiful. It lifts us to the appreciation of something more etherial in nature than bedding and shelter. It opens higher enjoyments than those of mere sensation. It spiritualizes matter, for

it discovers in it the mysterious quality of beauty, which is "in the world, and yet not of the world."

And when the mind has been taught of beauty, no unimportant step has been taken in the culture of the soul. For the divine quality is too widely diffused to retain the thoughts with the physical. It is seen, further, in all hidden and mysterious relations and analogies, all symmetry, harmony and order. Then come glimpses of it in its highest finite manifestation,—of moral beauty. A symmetry, harmony, and order are discovered and felt, exceedingly more beautiful than any to be seen in nature,—a symmetry of the soul,—its harmony with the spirit of its God. That inward beauty, which is the result of love and obedience,—of a spirit acting in glad conformity to the will of its Father, becomes a certainty, and recognized as what the Scriptures call "the peace of God which passeth understanding." The whole soul, conscious of the love and countenance of the maker of all things, feels that all creation is its heritage. Every thing becomes a ministry of beauty to it. It lives in an atmosphere of serener joy than others. The scales have fallen from the eyes of the mind. Such is the connection between taste and piety. It comes directly within the sphere of poetry; what higher poetry than to be bearing beauty about within one's self! Again, poetry does a good work in its dealings with "human sympathies." It enters with deep interest into the heart's experiences, and pours forth its emotions with fervor and sincerity, exhibiting alike its weakness and its strength. While trifling cares perplex the lives of the lowly, and harsh disputations engross the thoughts of the learned, the poet sits and sings of innocence, of pure affections and enjoyments, of strong endeavors and yearnings, of sorrows that overcast the soul, and of love that outlasts the mortal life. Read the great poets of the world, and hear their confident assertions of the eternal unchangeableness of love, and the sublimity of obedience to duty: listen to their sympathy with humanity, and their songs of encouragement to the toiling world, and learn from thence the part that poetry performs in the furtherance of the progress of mankind.

"O, deem not, midst this worldly strife,
An idle art the poet brings;
Let high philosophy control,
And sages calm the stream of life;
'Tis he refines its fountain-springs,
The nobler passions of the soul."

But, it may be said, the lyre is not always attuned to such lofty strains; it sometimes breathes forth in a "voluptuous swell" the enticements of a refined sensuality, and vibrates to earth-born desires. To this, I might say, that sensuality is not poetry. No thrill of pleasure received by the soul from the senses for which it would be ashamed to thank God as the giver, can claim the protection of poetry. The heavenly muse soars upward, silent and abashed, from the hilarious songs of the debauchee. If it be said, however, that polluting sentiments do take the form of poetry, I reply that such cases are exceptions, and less frequent now, perhaps, than formerly, and that the abuses of a blessing do not argue that it is not such.

Another considerable portion of literature is made up of what are called works of fiction. Can fiction be valuable? Can the false be made to subserve a good end? There may be those who are inclined to look upon all such works as evil, or at best but a waste of time both to the writer and the reader. But are they a mere tissue of falsehood and deceit? Does that language of childhood apply to them in which "telling a story" is but a euphemism for "telling a lie?" I do not say but that many books of this class may be falsehoods—false in their representations of life, and false in the principles they recognize—that many are written merely to interest without a moral—and that others even tend directly to immorality. But that truth may be, and has been inculcated, and advantageously too, by this means, can hardly be denied.

Fictitious writings may be considered as of three kinds, natural, satirical, and romantic; the first giving us faithful copies of life, the second caricatures, and the third Utopian scenes. In the first case we have a narrative of the conduct of certain natural characters, in certain natural scenes and circumstances. It is not history, for the persons and incidents are created by the imagination. Exactly those characters never existed, but what repug-

nance to truth is it, if *just such* characters have existed and do now? "History is philosophy teaching by example," and what else is fiction when it is true to nature? Let the actors be true men and women, and let the life be life as it is, and virtue may be inculcated and vice discountenanced as effectually as by a didactic treatise or a sermon. And more so; for truth in the abstract has not the pointedness of a direct application of it. We may assent with all readiness to exhortations to righteousness while the heart remains untouched. It is chiefly when the emotions are excited that the conduct is influenced. A moral lesson comes to us with vitality when exemplified in the actions of true human characters. Says Jacob Abbott, who has himself furnished so many useful tales for children, "The development of the moral sentiments in the human heart, in early life, is determined in a far greater degree by sympathy, and by the influence of example, than by formal precepts and didactic instruction."

Again, there is the satirical class of fiction. It looks at humanity upon one side—that of its weakness, and represents that. Its characters are mere personifications of vices and foibles—effigies set up to be burned. Its benefits may, perhaps, well enough be questioned. The object seems desirable enough—to drive men out of their vices, by showing those vices up in their deformity. But while the writer employs this purpose, ostensibly even to himself, perhaps, it is not improbable that less worthy motives may have a strong influence in the case. A good reason why he

"Holds his warped mirror to a gaping age,"

may be because the age *will* gape and be pleased; because it is a pleasant and lucrative employment to lash the vices of men who look on and approve, though they still pursue their chosen ways. Let a satire consist of a light and dashing narrative of sins and follies, with no deep undertone of sad sarcasm, but interspersed with a page or two of express moral precept, delivered in a way as flippant as any of the rest, and its advantages are very doubtful. The view is apt also to be superficial, and the characters to be what Johnson calls "characters of man*ner* rather than characters of nature." Notwithstanding

all this, however, such writing can at times, probably, be made valuable. Ridicule is often a strong weapon when direct reproof and exhortation are powerless. When the satirist pursues vice as one who hunts dangerous wild beasts to the death, rather than as one who takes to the chase for sport, then is he acting for the good of society. When his caricatures of human nature and representations of man as he too often *is*, are controlled by the conception of what he might and ought to be, then will his writings have their legitimate effect.

Thirdly, the romantic. It neither shows us life in its true and mixed character, nor displays its corrupt side, but creates an ideal world. It flies from this dull every-day life, into a realm of its own creating, whence it can banish petty and perplexing cares. Against this form of fiction, too, are brought up objections, and I am aware that some of them are valid. I know that by thus dwelling on unrealities, by losing one's self in an ideal world, one becomes unfitted for actual life, grows unfamiliar with its scenes, acquires a disrelish for its duties, and shrinks from contact with the public. But this objection lies against an abuse. The proper use is innocent and beneficial. A child brought up without any nourishment and culture of the imagination, has a great source of enjoyment in life put without his reach. He has to content himself with the gross, the material, the common. He is apt to want buoyancy, and faith and hope will be but half-awakened. And as to picturing scenes of purer and happier life than the usual, I think there can be no question of its utility. We sometimes hear people speak of the angelic characters—the Evas and Evangelines of fiction, as defects in the story,—"they are unnatural, too perfect." Too perfect? Heaven forbid! Let us have a perfect character occasionally, if it be but in imagination. Small injury, methinks, it will be to many of us to have a high ideal set before us. Purity and love and piety complete in human form is altogether too winning a sight to humanity to be without effect in elevating its conceptions and its aims.

I have thus spoken of literature as capable of exerting a favorable influence on character through the departments of poetry and fiction, as vehicles of moral truths.

But I do not wish to limit its value even to those works which are adapted to the inculcation of truth. There are other species of composition, the rejection of which from our libraries would prove a serious loss to the community of readers. Mankind would not willingly part with the treasures of wit and of fancy, of mirth and of melancholy, that find a place in their sympathies. A great mistake is made in supposing that the mind is deriving no benefit, except when it is acquiring positive knowledge or receiving direct precepts. Some seem to think that all reading other than of books of solid truth, may do well enough as play, but that really nothing is gained. Such persons have no adequate idea of the power of slight influences in moulding character. A witty or humorous book does something more than please for the time. The body craves lighter food, at times, than that substantial diet which would promote its growth. And physicians tell us, that, to produce the most beneficial effect, we must have a care to pleasing the palate, as well as to appeasing hunger. So the mind requires, now and then, a sweet bit, or a spicy morsel, to give relish to its solid nourishment. It may grow hardy, but at the same time rough and dull, if fed on hominy. Pleasantry comes in as a tonic.

How enlivening and refreshing at certain seasons are the pages which sparkle with the odd conceptions of the witty genius! How pleasurably the faculties are quickened, by the comprehension of his jests, to keep pace with him in the discovery of the ludicrous relations of things! To strike out Hood from the catalogue of writers, were like robbing a household of the laughter and prattle of childish sunny-heartedness.

And then the realm of fancy; who lifts the wearied mind upon her pinions to the land of dreams, and gives to it the buoyancy of the rarer air through which she soars. Mirth and melancholy have also been mentioned; mirth, that keeps pace with the sunlight and looks ever on the bright side of the earth, and melancholy, that flies unceasingly in the planet's shadow, at the antipodes of mirth. Mirth, "that wrinkled care derides," is necessary to maintain the vigor and elasticity of the mind, which *needs* frequently to behold a cheerful aspect of life and

of nature, to support in the performance of duty. But it is not well for the soul's earnestness and sympathy, to have it forget that there are grief and suffering and woe among the sons of men. In sadness, the heart acquires that seriousness, which is essential to its perfection. Let writers then remind us of sorrow; let us listen when they tell us

> "There is no music in the life
> That sounds with idiot laughter solely;
> There's not a string attuned to mirth,
> But has its chords of melancholy."

I have said that mirth and melancholy take respectively the sunny and the shady sides of the earth, but the two hemispheres touch each other, and he who looks fairly on the globe and sees all its phases, will behold both the darkness and the light. Thus Milton has not only sung to us L'Allegro, but also Il Penseroso. Hood, too, is a most notable example of a heart alive to the ridiculous, yet with a vein of truest sadness. "For your gayer hours" he has a voice of gladness, but with a gentle sympathy, also, does he "steal into your darker musings" with The Lay of the Laborer, The Song of the Shirt, and the Bridge of Sighs.

From the view which we have now taken of literature, it would seem to be no mean blessing. If the "Dream of the Blank Bible" should become a reality, and all other books be affected in like manner, we should expect to see the nations relapsing into a second mental night—into another series of dark ages. Says Tupper,

> "Yea, let another Omar burn the full library of knowledge,
> And the broad world may perish in the flames, offered on the ashes of its wisdom.

True, we have seen that literature is sometimes made a ministry of evil, rather than of good; but does this diminish, rather does it not augment, its importance? If books have been made an instrument to corrupt the soul, how much more necessity there is that great and good writers should fill the world with pure and noble thoughts, to overwhelm the offsprings of a depraved imagination, and make their authors hide their heads for shame. What office more important than that of thinking men, to keep

good the supply of right thought for mankind. And on such as have the power is laid the requirement to exert it. Thoughts force themselves upon the mind, at times, which will not suffer concealment.

> "A voice is ever at thy side,
> Speaking in tones of might;
> Like the prophetic voice which cried
> To John of Patmos, 'Write!'"

And let him who hears it be "not disobedient unto the heavenly" mandate, but be faithful to the high trust imposed upon him. "Where much has been given, much will be required;" and not only the possessor of ten talents, but also he who has but one, will not be held guiltless, if he dig in the earth and bury it. Whatsoever of truth thou hast caught, O student, in thy communings with thy Maker or his creations, whatever experience thou hast derived from thy intercourse with mankind, whatever of goodness, or of beauty, thou hast discovered in the world, do thou publish all these, for the benefit of thy fellow-men. And if thy heart is merry, and thine eye is quick to catch the sunny views of life, O sing thy cheering song and tell the tale of mirth to enliven the spirits of the weary multitude.

But, leaving it proven or granted that literature does exert an important influence on the world, and that it behooves every one who has a thought beyond the common range to transcribe it for the use of others,—considering this acknowledged, it would still be a question of some interest to examine, What benefits shall the author derive from thus laboring for the good of others? What are the rewards of authorship? Duty must be followed for its own sake, but mortal energies need encouragement from the hope of recompense. "I am willing to work hard," says the laborer, "if I may but receive some acknowledgment of my labors."

Why, it may be said, the author has but adopted one of the numerous ways of acquiring a livelihood, and if he succeed in gaining a competence, what more can he expect? Now, as, in the first part of this essay, I have not endeavored to show that authorship should, or may be, *followed* as a profession, but that he who has the gift

should give publication to his best thoughts whatever be his calling, so I shall not attempt now to consider whether writing may or may not realize sufficient pecuniary reward to make it a means of gaining a living. To be adopted as a pursuit, it must, of course, be able to support him who adopts it. It has sometimes been thought unable to do this. A writer in the "Museum," however, endeavors to vindicate authors from the charge of poverty, by showing that this, when it exists, results either from their having mistaken their vocation, or from prodigality that would have ruined them under any circumstances.

But whether the majority of writers have enriched themselves, or have lived in garrets, it is not my purpose to consider. Even if authorship be chosen as a profession, it is to be supposed that he who chooses it will have some higher end in view than the mere acquisition of wealth. To be sure, it must doubtless be no small pleasure to the youthful author to receive the first hard dollars which his writings have earned him. But if he engage in his duties with the right spirit, a comfortable maintenance or even wealth will not satisfy him. His profession needs peculiar rewards as it has peculiar discouragements. The farmer's labors are always attended with direct and obvious results. Every hour witnesses a certain number of furrows turned, or a certain amount of seed sown. It is not so with the author. His labor is not only internal and unperceived, but is also often unattended by any visible product. Many a weary hour measures off his toiling, unmarked by a single satisfactory result. Many an uninspired moment must he rack his brains for the thoughts which will not come. Nor is this all. "If when 'twere done, 'twere well done," it would not be so bad. But to the author, perhaps more than to any other, comes a train of petty annoyances when his work is finished. By being dwelt upon it has grown vapid and tedious. Dissatisfaction and uncertainty creep over him. He is doubtful if he may not have been expressing truisms or untruths. And then, when it is fairly out into the world, come the harsh probings of the critic, and the consequent despondency or indignation. What are the rewards which shall offset these trials?

And here, if I were to speak of the desired rather than

the attained, I should be forced to mention fame. Who can say how many hearts are, at this moment, throbbing in unison at the thought, and quickening at the sound, of fame. O rich reward, to have our names become as household words, and the plaudits of our genius echoed across the waters from the shores of another hemisphere! What a mighty agency is this controlling love for the applause of others! The soul, conscious of its powers and its exalted destiny, struggles to realize its lofty position here on earth, and would rather burst its bonds than live among its fellow-souls, "unhonored and unknown."

> "Nature cares not,
> Although her loveliness should ne'er be seen
> By human eyes, or praised by human tongues.
> . . . . Alas for man!
> Unless his fellows can behold his deeds,
> He cares not to be great."

Too often, doubtless, has this desire become an insane passion for notoriety,—notoriety at whatever price, and in whatever direction. But the desire of the writer to become known of men is to a certain degree, unobjectionable. It is right enough to wish to have our merits acknowledged, and even a good man will be glad to extend his influence by increasing his publicity. The assent and encouragement of the intelligent world is a great inducement to manly effort. A man who is eager to impart instruction, or give pleasure, will properly desire to do this for the greatest possible number. He will not shrink from attracting attention, but if called upon to meet the gaze of the world will try to do it manfully. But when glory has become the ruling passion of the soul, and the writer in his study has an ear-drum ever stretched for the applauses of the multitude, when his cry is "O, fame! fame! fame! next grandest word to God!" then has he lost the meaning of his high vocation, the truth will suffer violence at his hands, and it will be far better for him to find the object of his passion unmoved, "like the sphinx, staring right on with calm, eternal eyes," than that his burning wishes should be granted him. To be faithful to his trust, the author must make all love of show or applause succumb to the one purpose of being *true* to his best thoughts—of expressing them in their

naturalness and purity. Says Longfellow, "It were better, therefore, that men should soon make up their minds to be forgotten, and look about them or within them for some higher motive in what they do than the approbation of men, which is fame—namely, their duty; that they should be constantly and quietly at work, each in his sphere, regardless of effects, and leaving their fame to take care of itself." Though fame is not to be coveted, still it is not to be avoided, either present or posthumus. To have our names survive us is a high responsibility, but it is not to be dreaded nor shunned. It will be a joy to a christian soul, to be the medium of truth to others, or the exemplar of a true life. Let us conclude, then, that fame, or the applause of many, is not to be set up by the author as an anticipated reward, but that he may look for a recompense in the pleasure of influencing the minds of others.

There is a pleasure in "making our minds the minds of other men." There is a delight in knowing that,

> "a small drop of ink,
> Falling like dew upon a thought, produces
> That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think."

It is a joy to feel that when some great or good thought has been whispered into our souls, or when an old truth has presented itself in a new and more persuasive form, we may multiply the pleasure or the benefit derived therefrom, to every soul within our reach. Says a writer, "To come into contact with other minds, even though for limited periods—to move them by a silent influence—to coöperate in the construction of character—to mould the habits of thought—to promote the dominion of truth and virtue—to exercise a spell over those we have never seen and never can see—in other climes—at the extremity of the globe,—and when the hand that wrote is still forever,—is surely a most wonderful and even awful prerogative." And a high commission certainly it is. Happy the author who has given utterance only to his pure and noble thoughts, who has given only the better part of his nature as an example to the world, and "dying, left no line he wished to blot." But woe to those, blind guides, who having power to think and set their thoughts before the minds of others, do prostitute their natural capacities to the service of sin, and exert an unholy influence upon

the minds and hearts of their fellow-creatures. They sow tares instead of that good seed which would bring forth, "some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold." Methinks of such, the great Teacher would exclaim, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, they *have* their reward."

Again, the author finds a pleasure in his employment itself. A writer, whom I have once before quoted, speaks of the "pleasure of composition, as perhaps, after all, the greatest of the author's rewards; just as, in so many other cases, happiness is found, not in the object we professedly seek, but in the efforts we make to obtain it, and in the energetic employment of our faculties." It is true, I have previously spoken of the dissatisfaction and discouragements of the employment, but of course these are not constant nor predominant. There must be something to buoy up the mind in its labors. First comes the conception of the work, just dawning on the mind, its outlines indistinct and its details undetected in the distance, beautiful and enticing in its wholeness. This is the beau ideal which is to lure him on to the accomplishment. And then, when the subject has become a nucleus in the mind, and thoughts are hovering round and drawn towards it, it is a pleasure, less unmixed though it may be, to exert his power to adapt them all, and to perceive the parts assuming their proper places, and shaping themselves into symmetry and beauty. The author has the joy of expressing what he feels in the way he likes to express it. And that this is no mean joy we have the testimony of Coleridge. He says, "I expect neither profit nor general fame by my writings, and I consider myself as amply repaid without either: poetry has been to me its own 'exceeding great reward.'" That is a delicate delight of the writer's, after tracing a thought through the avenues of the mind, to secure it long enough to have it daguerreotyped—to see it expressed in the best and only way, and definitely comprehensible to other intellects than the one where it was born.

> "Oft a fine thought would flush his face divine,
> As he had quaffed a cup of olden wine,
> Which deifies the drinker. Oft his face
> Gleamed like a spirit's in that shady place,
> While he saw, smiling upwards from the scroll,
> The image of the thought within his soul."

Thirdly, the social pleasures of authorship are among its rewards. There is a sort of miniature fame, which if it be not so stirring an object of desire as a world-wide renown, is certainly not less real and tangible. To have your works read and admired, and your name repeated, by multitudes of whom you know nothing, has more of glory in it, doubtless, but less of pleasure, than to have your merits appreciated and acknowledged by the favorite few. But the circle of fame may be narrowed down still more, and with still less alloy in it perhaps. Since, unlike most other pursuits, the author's is one which retains him mostly at home, and his workshop is under his own roof-tree, it is but natural that domestic happiness should be interwoven with his literary pleasures. There may be those who would hardly rank the company of others, while writing, among the delights of the profession, and most would perhaps generally prefer to think in solitude. But to such as appreciate the joys of home, and choose on occasions, the rule of the Penates in conjunction with Minerva, the mention of such a minor recompense will not seem undesirable. Sterne's wife would knit and listen while he read her chapters of his works. It is true, such enjoyments will be apt to be at the expense of the thought, and this the author must take into account. The encouragement of one's own household must, however, certainly be a solace. Reading the precious labors of his brain to the sympathizing circle about his own hearth-stone, he may for a while forget to fear the critic's sternly just decisions.

But there is another benefit resulting from authorship which is not unworthy of a mention here. I mean the reflex influence on the author. The very exercise of elucidating truth is an improvement to a man. By writing out his thoughts he gives them a greater definiteness, and knows his own opinions better.

"To remember, write; to be accurate, write; to know your own mind, write;
Hast thou a thought upon thy brain, catch it while thou canst!
The commonest mind is full of thought, some worthy of the rarest,
And could it see them fairly writ, would wonder at its wealth."

He may also strengthen himself in all pure and virtuous purposes. He may make his best moments counsellors to

himself, and thus become his own mentor. His experience is recorded for his own benefit, as well as that of others. In his times of weakness and self-distrust, when all his thoughts are but common-place, and his lower nature seems predominant, at such times he may recur to the inspirations of his nobler hours, and find both a refreshment, and an earnest of the higher state to which he may attain. Or when sin has overcome the will, and he has yielded to temptation, among the messengers of retribution that throng around him, come silent reproaches from the pages that tell of the lofty purpose, and the higher view of duty vouchsafed unto his soul.

Such are some of the rewards which the author may expect to reap in the prosecution of his calling; no glorious and dazzling prizes indeed, but such as he alone can receive. They are, perhaps, the truest rewards of duty, and no less than are granted to her followers in other directions. Like most other recompenses in life, they follow in the line of, and are consequent upon, the labor itself. We are prone to look for some imaginary and external pleasure, but it remains as true now, as when the proverb-writer spoke it, that "the good man shall be satisfied from himself." J. C. P.

Art. XXVIII.

Moral Influence of Worship.

Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1853.

We confess that we were prejudiced against this book when we first read the title, but we have found so much to approve in it, that we can overlook the folly of its author in selecting such a conceited form of announcing his subject, and thank him for his plain statement of truths, which our Calvinistic friends have not always been willing to accept as truths.

He begins by stating three postulates: I. Man is a religious being. He will worship. II. He becomes assimilated to the moral character of the object which he worships. III. There are no means within the reach of human power or wisdom by which man could extricate himself from the evil of idolatry, either by an immediate or by a progressive series of efforts. These positions he proceeds to illustrate and defend, and in the line which he has thus marked out, we propose to consider this subject in the remarks that follow.

Man is essentially a religious being. He has within him that which leads him to look up to something out of himself. We believe there is no well-authenticated case of a nation without some indication of this common feeling. It is seen in the rudest and most abject nation as well as in the most civilized. The merry, thoughtless African, and the indolent tribes of our own continent, have gods to whom they look for the supply of their daily wants, for assistance against their enemies, and for protection against pestilence and famine. This feeling has assumed various and strange manifestations; sometimes it is shadowed forth but faintly, yet everywhere may be found traces of its existence.

The earliest manifestation of this element of man's nature among savage tribes, is what is called Fetichism. In this form of development, the shapeless stone, the most loathsome reptile, objects the most vile and disgusting, were consecrated by a vague and mysterious reverence, as the representative of an unseen being, the author of their welfare. The kindness of this being was manifested by supplying the daily wants of life, and was fitted, therefore, only for the rudest state of society.

The Tsabaism of the oriental tribes was a simpler and a nobler system of worship. It was simpler in its elements, yet it soon branched out into mythological fables, which derived much of their beautiful character from the poetic genius of the people. In its earliest manifestation it was a sort of Dualism, in which light and darkness seemed contending for the sovereignty of the world; the one endeavoring to pour out the full horn of fertility and blessing; the other, the vial of wrath and misery upon the human race. As poetic fancy expanded, however,

each different manifestation of these primitive powers was raised to a separate god, until we lose ourselves in the multiplicity of their divinities. The old gods of Polytheism were as varied as nature herself. Nature projected her own gorgeous images, and men bowed down and worshipped. The naiads of the brook and the dryads of the woods were not, to their dim apprehensions, mere figments of the brain, but actual beings, by whose agency the various changes that they witnessed in nature were affected.

Out of this nature-worship arose the Anthropomorphism of the more highly-cultured nations. This was the embodying of the divine power in human form. It is doubtful whether any higher conception of God was attained than this by any people before the advent of Christ. Without much doubt many of the wise men of old had more just notions of the supreme Being, but the great mass even of the wisest nations supposed him to be endowed with human organs of sensation. When they spoke of the hands and eyes of God, we may believe that they thought these organs literally constituted parts of that great Being who created, governs, and sustains all.

The second fact stated is, that man by worshipping becomes assimilated to the character of the being whom he worships. This point the author attempts to sustain by citing the testimony derived from the history of idolatry. He shows that the character of every nation and tribe on the earth has been modified by the character attributed to their gods. The Northmen, whose gods were bloodthirsty and cruel, manifested the most ferocious passions, and gloried in sanguinary deeds. They supposed that only through a violent death could they be admitted to the hall of Valhalla. They seemed, therefore, to take a horrid delight when revelling in scenes of blood and carnage.

The gods of Greece and Rome, though at one time possessed of some noble qualities, soon degenerated into beings of the worst passions. Pope's couplet is not far wrong,

> "Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust;
> Whose attributes were rage, revenge, and lust."

The Egyptians too, the first patrons of the arts and *sciences,* were brute-worshippers, and bestiality was com-

mon among them. The worship of Venus made men brutal voluptuaries, and reduced her followers to the lowest state of degradation. The uniform testimony of history on this point is, that man has ever been assimilated to the character of the object of worship in proportion to the sincerity and intensity of his adoration. The author quotes an extract from a public document laid before the English Parliament by H. Oakley, Esq., a magistrate in lower Bengal, to show that in modern times the same thing is true. He is speaking of Kalé, one of the most popular idols: "The murderer, the robber, and the prostitute all aim to propitiate a being whose worship is obscenity, and who delights in the blood of man and beast, and without imploring whose aid no act of wickedness is committed. The worship of Kalé must harden the hearts of her followers; and to them scenes of blood and crime must become familiar." In China the priests of Buddha fully understand this; for they say, "Think of Buddha and you will be transformed into Buddha. If men pray to Buddha and do not become Buddha, it is because the mouth prays and not the mind."

Now out of this evil of idolatry man had no power to extricate himself without the aid of some higher wisdom. Left to the unaided workings of his own mind, he had not grown into a purer worship, but had wallowed deeper into the mire of superstition. The second fact stated was that man assimilates to the character of the being he worships. It is no less true that he ascribes to his god his own characteristics. Under the influence of his impulses, he embodies his sensations and passions as a god; he projects his feelings, and falls down before the image in adoration and praise. The man of kindness and benevolence surrounded his god with the halo of love, while the fierce and revengeful clothed his in the thunder-cloud of vengeance. Untaught, he put himself forward in the character of his god. The influence of the climate has also been felt, and the diversities of scenery have imparted much to the character of the object of worship. The northern tribes, dwelling amid eternal snows and accustomed to the severities of an inclement sky, arrayed their deities in terrible qualities, while the inhabitants of the more delicate regions, whose characters were cast in a

softer mould, whose home was amid luxuriant scenes of nature, presented their gods in a lovelier aspect. Throughout the whole range of idolatry, there was found no element of development. The gods and goddesses were of a character to deprave the minds of those who did them reverence. The conception of them was, that they were beings superior to mortals in power, knowledge, and duration of life, but at the same time slaves of the most brutal impulses and the vilest lusts. The effect of offering such a character for worship must be either to crush out the sentiment of religion, or to degrade the whole moral nature. The former effect was produced upon the philosophers, the latter upon the people. Fate and the Epicurean doctrine of a deity who took no care for his creatures, but gave himself up to his own ease and pleasure, were the general notions entertained by the wise. The great practical doctrines of religion had no place in any system of theirs. The soul's immortality was shrouded in a cloud of darkness, which the eye of the wisest philosopher could not penetrate. Socrates just before his death said, "I have hopes that I am going into the company of good men, yet I would not be too confident of it." Cicero also said, "Whether the soul is mortal or immortal, God only knows. Which is most probable is a very great question." So, too, were the other philosophers in suspense on this point. An assurance was needed which philosophy could not give, an assurance which could not be disputed.

With such views of the higher powers as were entertained by those who *believed* in their existence, and with such ignorance as prevailed with respect to the future destiny of the soul, there was no culture of the religious affections. Those feelings that distinguish man from the brute creation, which ally him to the infinite Father, which give him joy in prosperity and solace him in adversity, and which impart comfort in seasons of suffering and sorrow, had no opportunity for development.

The moral aspect of things showed the need of a higher light. Although there were individual instances of moral excellence, there was but little in the great mass of the people that was entitled to respect in a moral estimate. *Nor could* we reasonably expect to find moral worth

among the people whose gods were personifications of the basest passions. The very services of religion were in many cases atrocious orgies of cruelty and libertinism. In the worship of Bacchus, of Ceres, of Venus, and of Cybele, all decency was set at defiance. As Paul says, "They were alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that was in them; because of the blindness of their hearts, they gave themselves over unto lasciviousness to commit all iniquity with greediness."

Such was the condition of the religious element in man's nature previous to the revelation by Jesus. In the exercise of their unaided freewill, men had reduced themselves to this state of degradation, from which they had no power to free themselves. It has been urged by Deists, that there was no need of any other revelation than that afforded by nature and reason. The testimony of history is so decidedly opposed to this, that the theory does not merit consideration. Reason and nature had been forever at hand, yet neither nor both together could impart a knowledge of what man had aspired to know. There are truths which reason and nature cannot teach. Like the Cyclopean Polyphemus, they struggle eyeless and aimless. It is true that there is no discrepancy between the teachings of Jesus and of nature. The revelations of both are in harmony. Nature is now christianized by the revelation of Jesus, and thus it appears to the casual observer that nature is all we need. But we ought to remember, that to discover that a fact is in harmony with nature and reason, is very different from finding out a fact by the aid of nature and reason. Nature reflects the light of Christianity, kindled by Jesus.

In the illustration of these three facts, our author is singularly happy and effective. In the development of the "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," he is we doubt not equally satisfactory to those who accept his theory. And yet we must confess we have never been so deeply impressed with the sense of the difficulties that cluster around the Calvinistic system as in reading this book. One of his positions is, if Christ be not God, then does God encourage treason. For Christ, by his teachings and his labor for sinful man, attracts love to himself, and thus stands as a rival to God. He says it does not change

the case to assume that God sent Christ. It is Christ who does the work, and him, therefore, we love. To whom would such an argument ever occur but to a Calvinist? He illustrates this by supposing a captain to order one to go to the relief of a shipwrecked crew. Though the messenger may speak of the mercy and tender-heartedness of the captain, if he be himself a man of compassion and does what he can to alleviate their distress, takes no thought for himself, but is anxious for their comfort, they will love him instead of the captain. This is no doubt true; but what then? Why, says the author, if Christ be not God, then shall we not love God but Christ. What is the foundation of our love to God? Is it for what Christ has done and for this alone? Here is a fallacy, which the author, who we understand is a lawyer, would very readily discover in a legal argument. Jesus came into the world not merely to attract love towards himself as the Saviour, but to induce men to love God by showing his paternal character. There are other reasons for loving God, than such as the author recognizes. The basis of our love to God, in his view, seems to be our salvation from impending eternal misery. He says, and truly, that we cannot command the affections to love and be obeyed, unless there be shown to them an object of lovable qualities. Let this be borne in mind in considering the foundation of love to God, and there need be no fears that Jesus will divert from God any love to himself. By showing the lovable qualities of God, by revealing his paternal character, Jesus turns our thoughts and affections to the Father.

There is another very singular position which he attempts to defend, founded, we presume, on the importance which he feels of offsetting some of the absurdities of the doctrine of the trinity, which is this, that we cannot love God for what he does, unless he practise self-denial. This he illustrates thus:

"Suppose an individual is confined under condemnation of the law, and the governor in the exercise of his power pardons him. This act of clemency would produce upon the heart of the criminal no particular effect either to make him grateful or to make him better. He might perhaps be sensible of a complacent feeling for *the* release granted; but so long as he knew that his release cost

the governor nothing but a volition of his will, there would be no basis in the prisoner's mind for gratitude and love. The liberated man would feel more gratitude to one of his friends who had labored to get petitions before the governor for his release, than to the governor who had released him."

In this extract the governor is supposed to represent God. Now we would like to ask the author whether he considers this a fair representation of the relation which God sustains to his creatures? Is there no tender feeling towards us? When God pardons our sins, is it only a "volition of the will?" Are we forced to adopt this alternative, or to accept his position that God practises self-denial? It cannot be. We love God because he first loved us, and has manifested his love each day of our lives.

In his chapter on "faith, as the exercise through which truth reaches and affects the soul," he considers the importance of belief in its effect upon the character and life. This generalization is too hasty, and his reasoning incomplete. He is controverting the remark often made, that it makes no difference what a man believes if he be sincere. He shows that in respect to business affairs, it does make a difference, and the sincerity of the belief may make the difference the greater. Thus it makes a good deal of difference whether we believe a man to be honest, with whom we have business relations. If he be a knave, and we think him honest, he may defraud us, and the sincerity of our belief in his honesty may make the result more certain. In this illustration he has stated a fact which we presume no one will be disposed to question. And yet does not every reader feel as though it were hardly a fair illustration, to be used in an argument against the dangers of mistake in matters of belief. In this case, the man is no worse as a man on account of his mistake. It has not affected his moral character. There may be cases where the character is unfavorably affected by the belief. We have seen that this was the case in the days of idolatry. This is not, however, what the author means. He has brought forward the illustration referred to, and others, in order to show the necessity of right views in respect to the doctrines of Christianity. He founds his argument on the practical effects produced. If a case can be found

where there are no practical effects, we presume he would not insist upon the absolute necessity of right notions. The doctrine of the Trinity is one the belief or disbelief of which does nothing to change the life. A Trinitarian is no better for his belief than a Unitarian for his. We have yet to learn that this belief ever affected the heart to produce purification, or ever helped one in the work of consecration to the service of God. We are willing to accept this test and to try the truthfulness of the various forms of doctrinal belief by the effect produced. We accept his statement which he calls especial attention to:

"That doctrine which rectifies the conscience, purifies the heart, and produces love to God and men, is necessarily true, because, as it has been demonstrated that righteousness and benevolence is the greatest good of the soul, and likewise that the greatest good must depend on the belief of truth, therefore the conclusion is inevitable, that that doctrine, which being believed destroys sin in the heart and life of man, and produces righteousness and holiness, is the truth of God. . . . If it destroys sin wherever it takes effect by faith, and makes happiness grow out of right living and right loving, from the constitution—from the character of God—from the nature of man, that doctrine is the truth of God." A. A.

Art. XXIX.

Literary Notices.

1. Pictures of Europe, framed in Ideas. By C. A. Bartol.
"What thy soul holds dear, imagine it
To lie that way thou go'st."—Shakspeare.
Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 407.

We always read every publication that bears Mr. Bartol's name. Whatever the title or the topic may be,—however unpromising it may look, or foreign from the stirring interests that engage immediate attention,—we are always sure of finding rich results of meditative thought, imagery, and illustration that flow aptly and gor-

geously from a most fertile and flexile imagination, and, pervading all, a spirit of reverence, a delicate and genial sentiment, and a sunny charity, which show the author to be more distinctively a Christian, than a thinker or a poet. There are some writers whose genius bears the same relations to their subjects, that the setting sunlight does to the clouds. However meagre and thin the staple of the topic may be, they can flush it with the most brilliant hues, and make it wear the spiritual draperies of their own pure fancy and feeling, so that we shall be elevated and charmed as much by the glory that comes from them, as if it belonged inherently to the subjects with which they deal.

Of course, therefore, the title of the book which Mr. Bartol has just issued, must awaken the richest expectations in those that know his powers, since it is impossible to imagine a field in which they could find such various and tempting opportunities for exercise. It is great praise to say of this volume that it is original. Out of the crowds of narratives and journals for which the increased foreign travel is responsible, there is very seldom one that is marked by any freshness of perception, vigor of thought, or vividness of delineation. Almost always the bond between chapters is that of the railroad, or the river-boat, that connects different cities and scenes. There is no artistic unity and chronology in which the methods of travel and the superficial order of sight-seeing are forgotten or subordinated to give us the deepest impressions, the comparative estimates, and the results upon the mind, the taste, and the heart, which the grandest scenery, the art and civilization of Europe have contributed to one's life.

Mr. Bartol's book was not produced by a hasty skimming of his memory. He has written out from an experience that vitalizes his words, his judgment upon the value and the perils of a foreign tour, as a resource for a retired mind and a process of education; he has pictured those landscapes which appealed so deeply to his heart that they could not fade when his eye was taken from them, but transferred themselves, in colors rarer and more lasting than the painter mixes, to the picture-gallery of the mind; he has poured out the feelings which the recollection of what is grandest in the natural features of Europe has confirmed and freshened, of the overflowing bounty and mercy of God in the beauty of the world; he has told us what impressions the great works of human skill in conquering the obstacles and obstinacy of nature, and the rarest products of genius in architecture and painting, have left upon him in proof of the inferiority of God's creations in nature, to those which He has wrought by the dictation of His spirit through the greatest souls; he has told us not only of the artistic delight which the crowning works of art in Europe afforded, but also the permanent testimony they have left in behalf of the greater glory of religion; he has turned the witnesses which he saw of the rise, and splendor, and [illegible]

and decay of human kingdoms, to the service of indicating and illustrating the sure and silent progress of that moral kingdom which lives within these visible entrenchments of authority and race, enduring while the vestments of history change, and organizing itself steadily, through principles, and plans, and fellowships that overleap the divisions and antipathies of blood;—while the aspects of the church, and the struggles of society, and the chronic miseries of great classes of people in the old world, have stimulated his pen, not merely to describe them, but to utter broad Christian truths and serene hopes for the future, both in this world and the next, that reveal a noble philanthropy, and leave the reader, who has carefully followed the leading of his chapters, in the mood of devout gratitude and cheerful courage.

It is hardly necessary, after this sketch of the purpose of the book, to give the titles of the chapters. They follow each other in this order: "Abroad and at Home;" "Beauty of the World;" "The Mountains;" "The Rivers;" "The Lakes;" "The Sea;" "Superiority of Art to Nature;" "Testimony of Art to Religion;" "The Enduring Kingdom;" "The Church;" "Society;" "Country;" "Mankind;" "History;" "Destiny." The first half of the book will be found to be more distinguished for brilliancy of verbal painting. It would be difficult, certainly, to name a volume that contains so many pen-pictures, gorgeously colored, and yet not violating simplicity or purity of taste. Mr. De Quincey has clearly demonstrated, in one of his essays, that pomp of style is often the only simplicity, because, from the demands of the subject, such treatment is the only real truth to nature. If a man is to describe the glories of a sunset, or Mont Blanc seen at sunrise, or the panorama that breaks upon a traveller from the summit of the Jura, his imagination must indeed be very vivid, and his words far above the splendor of any we have yet found in an English dictionary, if he is to go beyond the truth, in suggesting the luxury and revel of the retreating light among the western vapors, or the dumb majesty of the ice-crowned Emperor of Savoy, or the magnificence of that expanse of plain and valley that is bound in a chasing of eternal frost. There is no necessary connection between gorgeousness or pomp of composition and floridness. Pomp of movement and splendor of ornament are as simple as the dry terms of mathematical logic, where the subject is one that appeals to the deepest sentiments, and where feeling swells, under the rhythm, and flows so manifestly through all the magnificence of treatment, that you have no suspicion of a mind straining after rolling periods and shining words. In the richest passages of Mr. Bartol's volume, the reader is conscious that the feeling of the writer was so deep that his utterance must be sweeping, cumulative, and eloquent. We catch the glow as we read, and *in almost* every case are kindled rather by the sentiment that pene-

trates the paragraph than dazzled by the radiance of its dress. Take, for instance, the following passage on the return home from a foreign tour, selected from the opening chapter. Splendidly embroidered as it is, can any one who has crossed the sea, or who can imagine what a return-voyage over the Atlantic must be, say that it is anything more than the simple facts of the case, flushed with the coloring which deep feeling cannot but stimulate the imagination to cast upon them in writing?

"Who shall tell the unspeakable and unparalleled emotion of joy, when, after any considerable absence, home comes again in sight? When the huge body of the sea, by whose broad girdle we had crept to the regions of the rising sun, again shifts eastward its convex bulk, and we ride over the banks and by the capes which the great continent we were born on stretches forth in token of her protection to the navigator; when, after those reaches of the briny waste, which, to the superstitious and disheartened seamen of Columbus, seemed literally without end, the firm shore in some headland looms up, though dim and vague, to the wistful sight, indescribably dear and precious, with its rugged, barren outline fixing a spell upon us exceeding that of English shaven lawns or brilliant Italian sunsets; when, for the solitude, the solemn, peculiar, terrible loneliness of the sea, voiceless but for some rare trumpet through the whistling winds, and blank but for some glimmer of a sail that shines and fades on the horizon's edge, reappears the white-winged, sociable flock of ships; when, sailing above the bones of the majestic vessel and her ill-fated crew, and giving one shudder of sympathy as we stop to sound the depths, we then glide safely on, till a little coast-light, more glorious than the morning-star, a lamp brighter to us than Orion, blazes perhaps in the last watch of the night, and soon the smoothness of the bay and the narrowing harbor takes the place of the tremendous pitch and plunge between the poles of the world of the monstrous Atlantic,—and the forts, like stony, stiff sentinels, with brazen dogs of war, lie asleep full in view at the nation's old, dear doorway; ah! and when roof and spire and dome, from Bunker Hill to the smoke of our chimney, reveal themselves,—there is a sensation in our being, transcending the effects of all foregoing splendors and sublimities, and which boyhood's unsophisticated sight of those seven wonders of the world its primer had told of could not equal. As our foot presses the ground, we feel as the dove did, when, from wheeling over boundless water, through the treeless sky, she lighted in the window of the ark. Our city is a lovely Zion to us. We clasp its whole circumference to our hearts. We are of David's mind about his Jerusalem. The very stones are precious to us, and we love the dust thereof; nor is there a wall or corner, portal or pillar, be it friend's or stranger's, that does not find favor in

our sight. Our own dwelling, with every gray look and weather-stain upon it, that seems to have mourned our desertion, and to have been long yearning for its inmates,—who shall describe the transport of its living or even its inanimate welcome? The swell in the breast, instead of that on the sea; the tears that answer to the stormy shower; the low breathing of thanksgiving into which the gale has sunk; the heaving and melting of the whole nature after its struggle with the elemental forces, that, with snow and wind and cloud and rain, thoroughly sweep the floor of the creation,—testify that nothing beneath the sun, on this material stage, can match the interest of that scene, wherever laid, however produced, in which the very bosom of man makes its confessions."—pp. 10–12.

We have said that the first half of the book is the more striking for the vividness of its pictures and the richness of its style. The chapters on the Beauty of the World, and on Mountains, contains passages that, for delicacy of touch in the working out of grand conceptions, and the exquisite gracefulness with which the subordinate parts of a picture are tinged and toned to produce unity of effect, suggest a literary art kindred with that which Mr. Ruskin attributes to Turner, the landscape-master of England, and which that enthusiastic critic so elaborately describes. Take the following picture of Mont Blanc seen from one of the heights over Chamouni:

"On the peak which rises to command, across the tremendous vale of Chamouni, the summit of Mont Blanc, I beheld the snowy mass of congregated peaks, all pure and crystalline, sparkling in a cloudless sun, with majesty not to be surpassed, one might think, by the roof even of the New Jerusalem in heaven. The monarch of the hills seemed to wear an everlasting crown upon him, from which no jewel could be struck; in which not a ray of lustre, for countless ages, had been quenched. His lesser supporters stood motionless about. Monstrous needles of rock—as though foot-guards of his dignity—thrust their long lances into the air, high almost as the brow of the throned king himself. Enormous glaciers, as grounded arms, glittering like steel, lined his seat, and the far-heard rush of torrents murmured his applause; while the occasional loud crackling of the fathomless ice, in every ravine, was a salute to his honor, or a warning against rash approach. It was as though God himself were representing his royalty, and setting up a material figure of the King of kings, and I were admitted into the ante-chamber to bow and adore Him, of whom there is no graven image, through a type fashioned by his own hands to help his feeble creatures by a ladder, finer than dreaming Jacob ever saw, up into heaven. For awhile, entranced in the spectacle, fancy climbed up the magnificent stairway of the sovereign's courts, and ran through the hollow chambers whose

frost-work rang with the rapid streams, to light on the top of those sharp spears, edged with hail, that leaned towards the mountain's head, and then to settle on the hoary front of sun-lit splendor that so placidly overlooked all. Long was the working of the spell, and late the recovery. But shall the spectator himself be allowed to testify that he awoke but to be carried into a nobler trance than that in which the snowy chain had held him? for he awoke to lift his eye from earthly heights into celestial depths, the spirit that filled which took him to a sublimer fellowship in its house without pillars or walls, than he could find in the loftiest columns of earth's architecture; and made him feel as if it had been a kind of idolatry rather than the purest worship, to be in lesser space of finite forms so absorbed. The end of the pilgrim's journey could not exceed the beginning. The wonderful works of God had been shown him, before a wheel turned or sail had been set for his conveyance."—pp. 40, 41.

"In a pilgrim's recollection, the line from Lungern to Lauterbrunnen, running through woods, down steeps, and over hills, seems altogether one magnificent pass. The unsurpassed vale of Meyringen, fringed with the alternate green of trees and white of waterfalls; Grindelwald, with its huge circlet of mountains and its shining ornaments of glaciers, especially the glacier of Rosenlaui, purest of all its fellows, opening its dripping, inner rooms, that sparkle with the beryl and ruby tints; the Scheideck, Faulhorn, Wengern Alp, Bernese Alps,—how much is there here, not for lame description, but for thrilling sight! Let me speak only of the descent to Lauterbrunnen, which means *clear springs*, or *only springs*. Nowhere else more suddenly than there is one let down off a sublime mountain into a fearful defile. It would seem, too, as if the mountain, while dismissing its travellers, were pouring out with them all the floods and circulations of its mighty heart. Snowy as the upper drifts they come from, these liquid glaciers are colored as though they verily were the solid ones,—which are their neighbors, and into which the wintery cold partly converts them,—in motion. On they rush, like an everlasting manifold baptism, as if they bore on their streams the very purity of nature's soul, and would cleanse every stain from her visible body. From the Staubbach, about the sixth of a mile in height, and looking as if it were spun from top to bottom of the finest wool, to every thread of moisture that waves in the wind, and adds its little tone to a grand concord, which the fine ear of spirits may gather up, the watery strings and bands keep up and down, keep to and fro, their incessant motion; and dull of inward apprehension must he be who does not bring away in his heart ideas of refreshment, holiness, and harmony, for a lasting pleasure and good, when the rills are no longer heard or seen.

"But, alas! we must hurry off from this matchless unison of the

waters. We left Lauterbrunnen, also, with other sounds than the music of rivulets and cascades lingering in our ears. On the Wengern Alp the Jungfrau had sent the thunder of its sliding avalanches—choruses in a tremendous oratorio—into our very hearts. There were finer echoes too, in which nature and art shared, from the blowing of long, wooden horns, in chosen spots, against the sides of the mountains. The sweetness of that melody, *in which the breath of man was the plectrum, and the far-off frightful lines and seams of eternal rock the harpstrings*, can be no more than hinted to any by whom it has not been heard. What strange softness mixed with what metallic brilliance! What notes from unearthly distance brought so distinct and near! What even roughest and most unmusical blast from below returned out of heaven smooth as the dewy air, *like God's mercy coming back for the sins of man.* Ah! Heaven changes to melody the sharpest voice of earthly creatures. What peal of defiance, shout of passion, keen report, or blasting curse, can quite drown, or for ever prevent, the gentle pleadings of the divine voice?

"I will not, at present, attempt the description of any more of the unnumbered situations of highland splendor, which months of constant motion brought to view. Some are here purposely omitted, because I have occasion to employ them for the illustration of other points of discourse. Ah! far off there, the mountains, great, good-humored giants, seem laughing at the portraitures I have presumed to give in using mountainous words so vainly to present mountainous things. Yet, when we think of it, why should we expect to be able to bring about more than a cold, faint, and very distant acquaintance of the mountains with those by whom they were never seen? How reveal nature's so various architecture of hills—a dome here, a spire or steeple there—to a mere ignorant fancy? How show the Mer de Glace, as it heaves its white and green billows between the Montanvert and those stone lances which the earth holds in rest, and with which she pierces the skies, till, as in her hold they lean a little from their sharp elevation, they almost threaten to overtop and bear down upon Mont Blanc himself? Or how paint the glacier's look, as from the Flégère we see it rushing into the vale beneath, like a river into a bay, widening at its mouth, groaning with a frequent dull sound of its agitated icy waves as they descend, not unlike the distant wash and booming of the ocean itself? What drawing can we give of the centre-piece of all this grandeur, which, as one of the poets says, was crowned monarch of the mountains long ago? Lo! there, with his spotless covering, which he never takes from his head, he stands and defies you,—telling you to carry off his likeness if you can in any shape but the airy and invisible one of your own memory. Magnificent mockery! Challenge sublime of earth and sky! Like princes round their sovereign, the other hoary summits

gather, as with silent oaths, to repeat his speechless word, and stand by their master. The majestic cabinet in eternal session unveil their faces, and lift their hoary fronts to those who draw nigh their circle. But no oriental king ever held himself in greater seclusion, or ever vouchsafed more dim and inadaquate notions of his personal glory, than do they to those remote from their dwelling. The mountains, indeed, that they may show their dignity and communicate their favors, require to be approached with great painstaking and peculiar respect."—pp. 81, 84.

The most carefully wrought descriptions of the volume are those of a Cathedral, of the Dresden Madonna of Raffaelle, and of the Descent from the Cross, by Rubens, in Antwerp. We regret that our restricted limits deny to us the opportunity of quoting the latter passage, which we think would be called the most striking selection that could be made from the volume. It will be found pp. 205–208.

And yet the most prominent fact which Mr. Bartol's book suggests, is the influence which Christianity has wrought upon our methods of observing nature, our sympathies with its beauty, and our uses of its facts, features, and laws as symbols of spiritual things. The pictures in the volume we are considering are "framed in ideas." The author sets all his impressions of society abroad in the light of universal principles which they suggested or deepened, and in which he would have them enforced. And so he uses the beauty and the ministries of mountains, lakes, rivers, and sea, as language and imagery of religious truths,—catching from them an echo, or a reflection, of the glory of the gospel. In this respect it is pre-eminently a religious book, for such sympathy with nature, and such insight into its processes, are indications of the influence which the Bible has exerted upon the heart and the imagination of the race. It is a very suggestive fact that classic literature is almost utterly empty of that form of imagination, which comes into such communion with nature that it uses its loveliness and its grandeur as the symbols of truth and the vocabulary of passion. The Greeks lived in a country as lovely and as various in its charms as any the earth holds; and yet where shall we turn in their poetry for any picture of a mountain, or any finished transcript of a landscape, or any broad and joyous portraiture of the capricious and cameleon-colored sea? Turning from modern to ancient poetry, one is more struck with the contrast as to penetrative sympathy with nature, than with any other single evidence of change of latitude. Compare the "Prometheus Bound" of Æschylus, with the "Prometheus Unbound" of Shelley. However demonstrable and manifest the superiority of the Greek language may be, compared with the English, as a flexible, precise, and sinewy organ of expression, a cultured reader cannot but feel that the advantage is immeasurably in favor of the modern poet, when he looks at

the vast treasury of analogies and symbols, drawn from the countenance and the heart of nature, which the progress of science and the growth of a broad sympathy with the outward world have added to the resources of the English tongue. The effect is the same as if new forces and branches had been directly contributed to the stock of language. The opening passages of the third scene in the second act of Shelley's poem, describing the view from the summit of a lofty mountain, and making the rush of an avalanche represent the loosening of a great truth which shakes the nations to their roots, cannot be paralleled in classic literature, and shows that a new power, bringing with it a new source of joy, has been "unbound" in the modern mind. Schiller, in referring to the harmony of the Greek imagination with the simplicity of nature, so faithfully reflected in their poetic works, remarks that "we cannot fail to notice with surprise how few traces are to be met amongst them of the sentimental interest with which we in modern times attach ourselves to the individual characteristics of natural scenery. The Greek poet is certainly, in the highest degree, correct, faithful, and circumstantial in his descriptions of nature, but his heart has no more share in his words than if he were treating of a garment, a shield, or a suit of armor. *Nature seems to interest his understanding more than his moral perceptions;* he does not cling to her charms with the fervor and the plaintive passion of the poet of modern times."

When we call to mind, too, the crowds that visit the Alps to enjoy their splendors, and think of the stimulus which that district of Europe supplies to the poetic feeling of the modern world, it is a striking fact that the cultivated people of ancient Rome were evidently insensible to their attractions, that there is no evidence of any voluntary visits to them by the poets and classes blessed with leisure, and that no descriptions of their majesty and their glorious hues have been left by the accomplished writers who are known to have crossed their chief passes and to have travelled, in the track of the Roman armies, among their most inspiring scenes. The same deficiency of sympathy with nature is shown in the absence of landscape-painting, as a separate branch of art, in ancient society. In Greece, natural scenes were sketched only as background of historic painting; in Rome, after the time of the Cæsars, taste in that direction was developed sufficiently to allow sketches to be drawn for ornament, which, however, were too inaccurate for maps, and too stiff and artificial to be accounted even poor attempts at portraying artistically the freedom and luxury of nature. This decision is based on the samples of such painting left on the walls of the best houses of Pompeii.

It is to Christianity that we are indebted for our education in the *love of* nature, and the quickening of our insight into its moral symbolism. The unity of God which Christianity affirmed; His perva-

ding presence in the universe, and His perfect goodness which it taught the nations; and the illustrations which Jesus gave of the profound religious meaning of nature through his constant use of its organic language as the medium of his deepest truth, banished the childish poetry of Polytheism that belittled the proportions of the the world, drew the mind to a reverent study of its laws, won the heart to closer communion with its beauty, taught the soul to look into its countenance as an inexhaustible expression of the infinite, and thus, by their steady and quickening pressure, have enriched our secular literature with treasures infinitely more precious than the elegant mythology that was the boast of classic times. Of this influence, Mr. Bartol's volume is one of the richest fruits; for we see in its pages, so crowded with beauty that is the becoming drapery of spiritual truth, even less admirable proofs of the genius of the author, than of the spirit into which his genius has been baptized, and by which his vision has been made clear.

We must not forget, in closing this notice, to allude to the account of an ascent of Mont Blanc which Dr. I. T. Talbot of Boston has contributed to the volume. Our readers will find it exceedingly interesting. The Doctor extemporized his plan of ascending the hoary summit of Europe on the 24th August, 1854, started at half-past eight on the 25th from Chamouni, slept at the Grand Mulets that night, reached the summit at noon of the 26th, and was in Chamouni again before eight the same evening,—thus accomplishing the whole journey in thirty-six hours, the quickest time ever made. The account is as graphic as it is modest. Only let us hope that the readers of this notice will not take our word for it, but procure the volume and judge for themselves. K.

2. The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M. A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M. A. In two volumes. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner. 1855. pp. 459, 556.

It was our privilege to read the above work soon after its first appearance in the English print; and perceiving that it would come to be regarded as a necessary addition to the library of every theological student, we expressed the conviction that it must soon find an American publisher. The first sentence of the introduction states the purpose of the work—"to give a living picture of St. Paul himself, and of the circumstances by which he was surrounded." We need not say, that it is one thing to give even an accurate and complete statement of the leading events of a man's life, and a very different thing so to group and vitalize those events as to bring the man himself before the very eye of the reader—the living man distinct in all the outline of form, feature, and manner, his countenance radiant with the enthusiasm that fills his soul, and expressive of the purpose to which his life is consecrated. There is a wide

difference between simply giving in order the circumstances under which a human character has been developed, and that resuscitating effort of genius, which puts the man *in* those circumstances, and which, throughout the history of his life, makes us behold him in vital connection with them—with the customs, manners, habits, prejudices, localities, and kindred influences which have acted upon him. Conybeare and Howson have done more than simply give a record of the experiences of Paul, and of the circumstances which explain those experiences. They have brought, as it were, before our eyes, the living apostle; and, in reading their pages, we feel as if face to face with that fearless, resolute, uncompromising hero, who, true to the single purpose of his mission, taking his life in his hands, dared all things, suffering every form of persecution, submitting to stripes and imprisonment, and finally to death itself, that in carrying the gospel of Christ to the Gentiles, he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received from the Lord Jesus. And our authors have so presented the outward conditions of the apostle's history, as to make them *throw out* their light of explanation and illustration—demanding not a painful intellectual effort to divine their meaning, but only attention to apprehend it.

In stating our own conviction, we but echo the unanimous verdict of reviewers, both in this country and in Britain, that the work of Conybeare and Howson is one of the most extraordinary productions of the present age. Indeed, we know of no single work the reading of which will make a more marked and appreciable addition to one's stock of useful and effective Christian knowledge. Its careful study puts one in a new and higher position whence to view every thing that St. Paul said or did. Numerous passages in his epistles, usually regarded as indistinct, become clear and are seen to have important and practical significance. Numerous mistakes touching the general tenor of the apostle's writings, and also with regard to common interpretations of many parts of the same, will be corrected. Above all, the reader will be brought into sympathetic relations with the apostle; and frigid indeed is the heart that is not moved by the vivid portraiture of the trials, sufferings, escapes, and triumphs, which attended his never-failing fidelity to the one aim of his eventful history.

In connection with the life of St. Paul, the work gives a new translation of his epistles and speeches. As regards this labor, we have only to say, that so far as we have seen, it has secured the general approbation of competent critics.

The American reprint is every way worthy the contents of the work. It contains every thing which appeared in the English print, excepting the steel engravings, which were simply intended to embellish without adding any thing by way of illustrating the text, and which could not be retained without very greatly enhancing the price of

the volumes. The notes, coins, maps, plans, and wood-engravings, generally, have been retained. The type, without being so large as to make the size of the volumes unwieldy, is distinct enough for any healthy eye. We have only to add, that the American edition is sold at one-half the price of the original print. E.

3. Art-Hints. Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. By James Jackson Jarves, &c., &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.

A book which will be found useful, not only to the amateur of art, but also to every person of enlarged thought. From reading it, the student will gain a clearer insight into the principles and peculiar purposes of certain manifestations of mental power. He will be led to a more appreciative observation of nature. A wider range of imagery will open before him, and (at least, if taken in connection with kindred works) he will be able to draw rich sustenance from fountains of intellect which he would otherwise scarcely have tasted.

The main purpose of the book is to give, in popular form, a brief philosophy of art, illustrated by reference to the more notable points of its history. The correspondence which any given production must necessarily bear to the age, and the individual mind which creates, is very clearly exemplified. By indirect connection, valuable suggestions are afforded toward the solution of a few problems which have been stumbling-blocks in the way of many thoughtful persons. Must art depend on luxury and prodigality for its full measure of prosperity? Must it rely for success chiefly or altogether on the patronage of individual wealth? Are we alway to look to Italy and the classics as the standard and the bound of artistic achievement, beyond which the world can never go, and by which all the course of future effort must be studiously controlled? To some, these questions may appear trite, and easy of solution. Yet there are few questions equally important, which have been answered with greater and more frequent incorrectness. We therefore repeat that the "Hints" will, in our belief, be found almost equally valuable to the lover of art, and to the student of general literature. G. H. B.

4. A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith. By his daughter, Lady Holland. With a Selection from his Letters, edited by Mrs. Austin. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.

There are few persons who are not familiar with the name of Sydney Smith; yet there are few who know much of his private, domestic life. The desire which the admirers of his literary history must feel to see the living connexion between his every-day experiences and those humorous effusions of his genius which have shed a delight in so many literary circles, may now be gratified. Lady Holland has done her work well—not only with filial affection, but

with judgment, taste, and a full appreciation of the distinguishing characteristics of her venerable parent. As to the Letters, we need say but a word. Sydney Smith could not write a labored article for the Edinburgh Review without giving vent to his humorous propensity, not unfrequently convulsing the sober reader of that ponderous periodical. What *must* his letters be, giving free scope to that faculty which, more than any other, has given his name enduring fame? E.

5. Speeches and Addresses. By Henry W. Hilliard. New York: Harper & Brothers, &c. 1855. 8vo. pp. 497.

These are fair specimens of the class of productions to which they claim to belong. We think that, in point of expression, they rather excell the average samples of the kind, though a critic of severe taste might hint that their tone is often a little too gratuitously *magnifique*. Whatever may be their character in this respect, however, they add nothing to the stock of current eloquence, or of current political views, or of current partizan arguments, or of current thought in any department. The *material* of which they are composed is all second-hand. They show a mastery of the forms of public address; they also evince a good degree of judgment in selecting the more reputable of the stereotyped forms of the kind. Nor is this good judgment less evident in the choice of the most commonly approved arguments for the several points advocated. Had the volume been published before any body else took up on the same side of the respective topics, it might have been regarded in the light of a contribution at least, though even then the reader would have felt, in perusing it, that the strata of thought did not run very deep. Its appearance, at this late hour, can be of no great importance to the world, as all the wants it can meet had been supplied beforehand.

6. History of the Council of Trent. From the French of L. F. Bungener, Author of "The Priest and the Huguenot," &c. Edited, from the Second London Edition, with a Summary of the Acts of the Council, by John M'Clintock, D.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 546.

A knowledge of the subject here presented is indispensable to every one who would understand the position of the Roman Catholic Church, as it is authoritatively defined by the last of her General Councils,—the last probably that will ever be convened. And yet it is a knowledge that was not easily to be obtained by common readers, as there was no popular English work current among us on the subject, till the present edition of M. Bungener's history appeared. It is written, of course, in the earnest, and perhaps one-sided, spirit of M. Bungener; the sympathies and the foregone conclusions of an advocate are not concealed; but the facts in general appear to be well authenticated, and the balance to be, on the whole, pretty

fairly held. Besides furnishing us with the means of ascertaining the ground really held by the Catholic Church, at present, it opens to our view the general state of religious affairs on the Continent of Europe in the sixteenth century, and brings before us the management, the artful combinations, and the thousand intrigues, which have always prevented the formal acts of a General Council from being a true index of the sentiments that prevailed among its members. It is a very amusing, and a very instructive, history. The work is accompanied with all the apparatus of Introduction, Indexes, &c., that a common reader can be supposed to need. We heartily commend it to public acceptance.

7. Letters to the Right Rev. John Hughes, Roman Catholic Bishop of New York. Revised and Enlarged. By Kirwan. New York: Harper & Brothers, &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 370.

A work that has already had so wide a circulation, as the one before us, hardly needs a notice from the periodical press. Perhaps the most appropriate compliment that we could pay it, is to quote the following from the author's Preface: "Having gone through so many large editions in the United States; having been republished in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Canadas; having been translated into the German, French, and Spanish, and by American missionaries into some of the languages of India, they [i. e. these letters] have been read in all countries where the human mind is in any adequate measure awake to the examination of the differences between the religion of the Bible and the religion of Rome." They present a popular argumentation of the topic, and contain many strictures and suggestions that will reward the reader for perusing the book; but they are not distinguished by impartiality, completeness, or depth.

8. A Visit to India, China, and Japan. By Bayard Taylor. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1855. pp. 539.

We have barely found time to look through this record of the remainder of Mr. Taylor's somewhat celebrated tour in Europe, Central Africa, and in many of the countries of Asia. We find the volume similar in plan to the others of this series, and marked by the same characteristics which distinguish the later works of this enterprising traveller. Mr. Taylor's tour was extended over two and a half years; the narrative of it occupies three volumes,—"Journey to Central Africa," "Lands of the Saracen," and the one under notice. The series is worthy a place in all our families. With the following paragraph, Mr. Taylor closes the account of his eventful journey. We hardly know which most to admire, the kindliness of his spirit, or the excellence of his faith: "I had travelled altogether about fifty thousand miles, and in all my wanderings, in all

my intercourse with men of whatever clime, had been received with kindness and attended by uniform good-fortune. Let me hope that the reader, who has had the patience to accompany me through this long and adventurous journey, will arrive at its close with the same faith in those innate virtues of human nature which no degradation can obscure, and the same dependence on that merciful Providence, whose protection extends over all lands and seas." R.

9. Japan as it Was and Is. By Richard Hildreth, Author of "History of the United States," etc. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 576.

The method which Mr. Hildreth has employed to present us all the information extant of a country generally so little known as Japan, is new, and one that we are persuaded will command the hearty approval of his readers. He begins with the earliest travellers in Japan, gives a summary of their accounts, and, in this way, following down the series of visitors to that country in chronological order, enables us to see what they saw, and to see it under the same lights and shades. We thus obtain not only an intimate acquaintance, but an historical idea also, of the matter; and Mr. Hildreth's seemingly paradoxical boast appears to be fully justified, that "with all that is said of the seclusion of Japan, there are few countries of the East which we have the means of knowing better, or so well."

He adds, that "the complete history of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch relations with the Japanese is not to be found elsewhere in English; nor in any language in a single work; while in no other book have the English and American relations been so fully treated. Many extraordinary characters and adventurers make their appearance in the scene, and the reader will have no ground to complain at least of want of variety." It is needless to commend a work of this kind, so *unique* in its plan, and executed by so able an author.

10. Friedel, an Autobiography, from the German of W. O. Von Horn. Illustrated. By Mrs. C. M. Sawyer, Editor of "The Rose of Sharon." Philadelphia: G. Collins, &c. 1856. 12mo. pp. 349.

A very pleasant story, translated in a very tasteful manner. The volume will not only be acceptable to all lovers of the simpler class of German tales, but it will also hold a respectable rank among Gift-books for the approaching season.

11. The Standard Second Reader: containing Introductory Exercises in Articulation; an Explanatory Index; Reading Lessons, &c. By Epes Sargent, Author of the Standard Speaker, &c., &c. With Illustrations by Billings and others. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, &c. 1855. 12mo. pp. 216.

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